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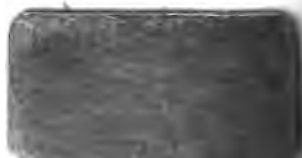


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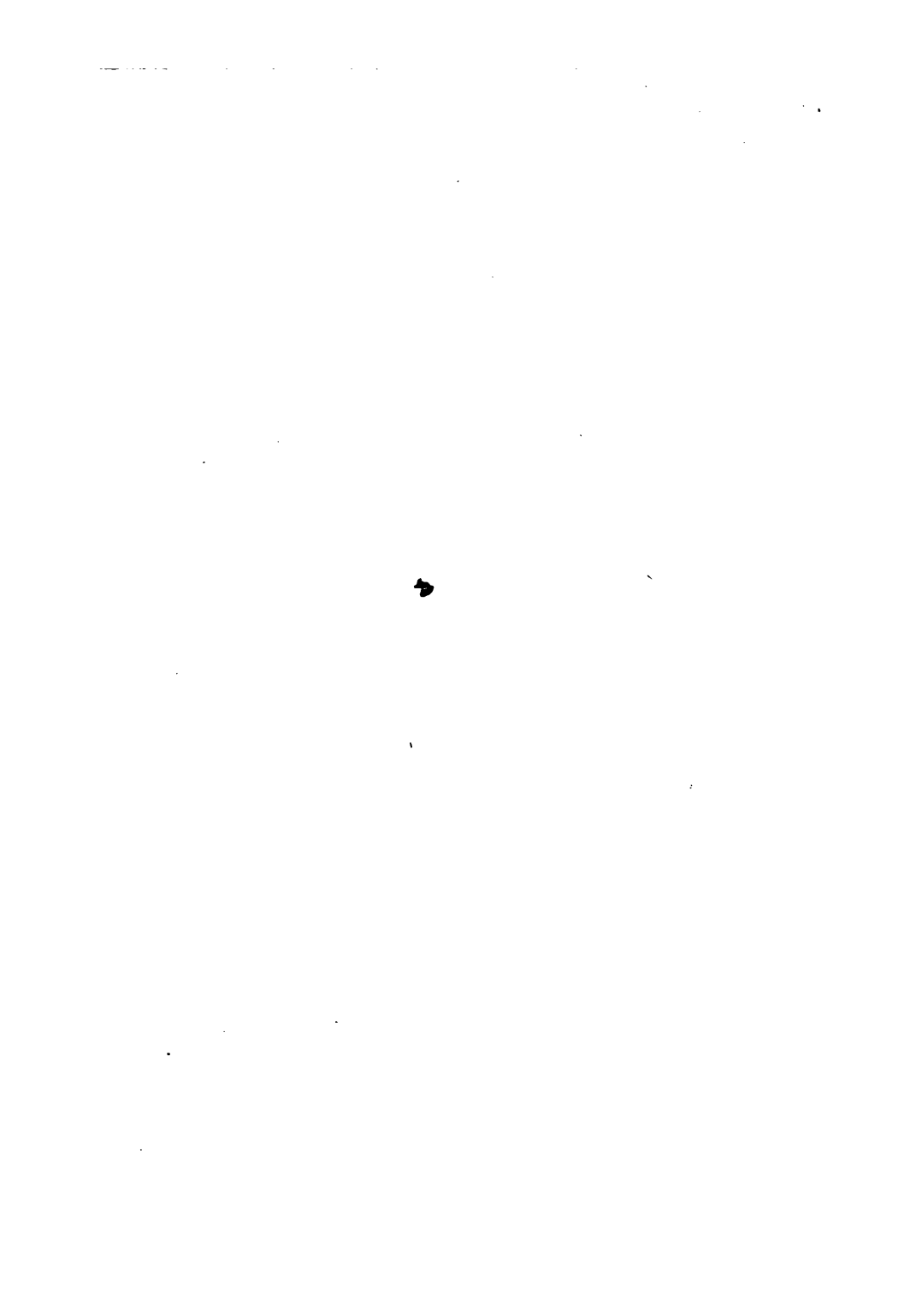
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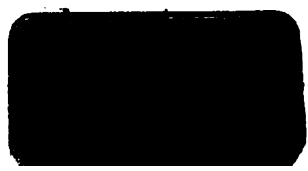
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INDIVIDUALISM AND COLLECTIVISM

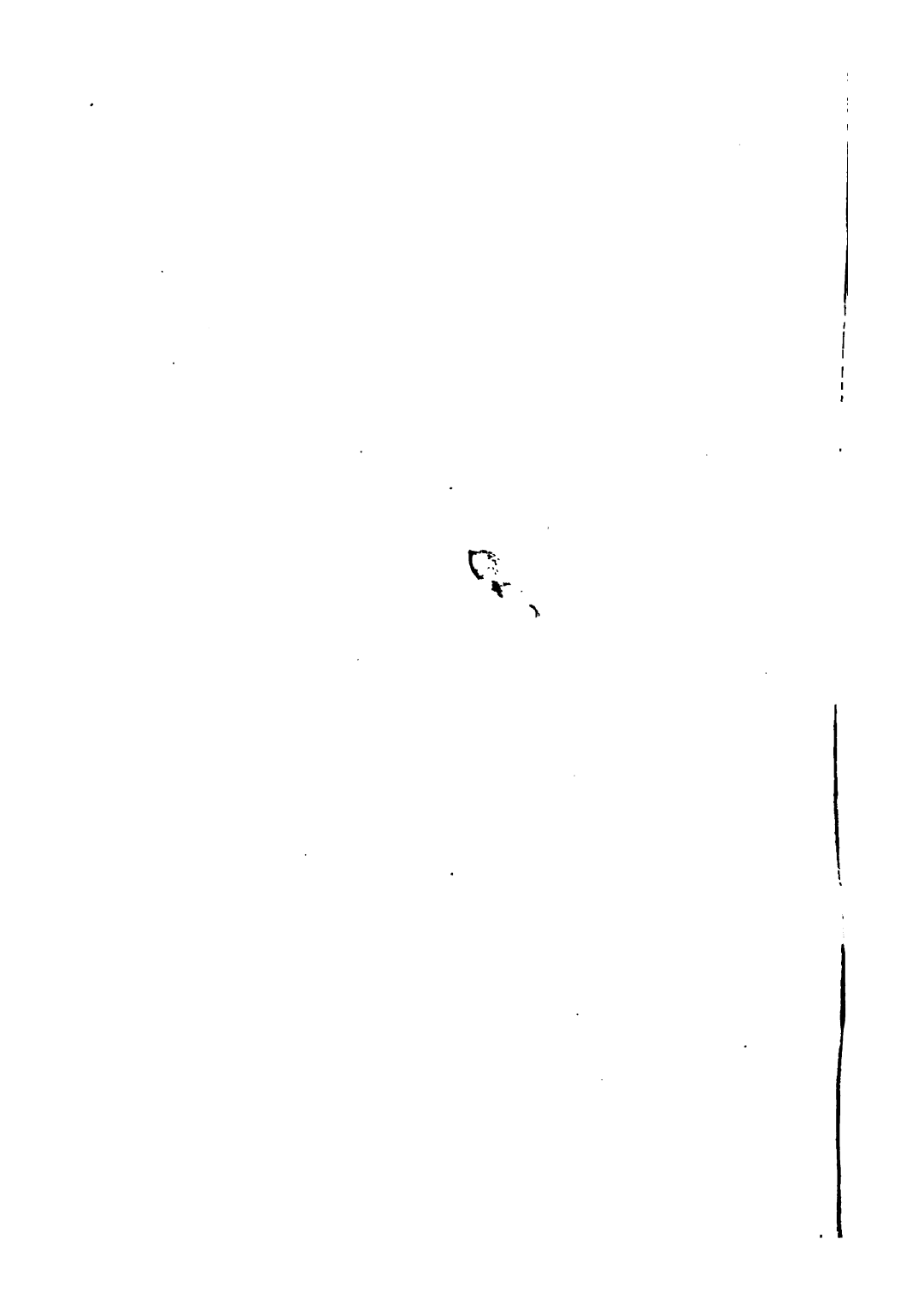
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INDIVIDUALISM AND COLLECTIVISM

CONSTITUTION ISSUES—I.

INDIVIDUALISM AND COLLECTIVISM

FOUR LECTURES

BY

C. W. SALEEBY

M.D., F.R.S. EDIN.

WITH AN

INTRODUCTION AND AN APPENDIX

By MEMBERS OF THE BRITISH CONSTITUTIONAL ASSOCIATION



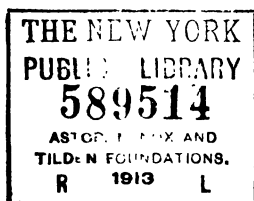
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INTRODUCTION

THE four lectures by Dr C. W. Saleeby, on "Individualism and Collectivism," are an attempt to expound the principle that the State is only secure in so far as it conserves the liberty and responsibility of the individual. The lectures were delivered during the General Election of 1906 for the British Constitutional Association, whose object is to conserve the fundamental principle of the British Constitution—personal liberty and responsibility—and limit the functions of governing bodies accordingly. The Association contends that the following quotation from Herbert Spencer's *First Principles* proves clearly that the path of progress is from freedom to greater freedom, and that

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collectivist measures for curbing the individual in the supposed interest of the many are as retrogressive as they are unscientific and non-political :—

“ Our political practice, and our political theory, alike utterly reject those regal prerogatives which once passed unquestioned. . . . Though our forms of speech and our State-documents still assert the subjection of the citizens to the ruler, our actual beliefs and our daily proceedings implicitly assert the contrary. . . . Nor has the rejection of primitive political beliefs resulted only in transferring the authority of an autocrat to a representative body. . . .

“ How entirely we have established the personal liberties of the subject against the invasions of State-power, would be quickly demonstrated, were it proposed by Act of Parliament forcibly to take possession of the nation, or of any class, and turn its services to public ends ; as the services of the people were turned by primitive rulers. And should

any statesman suggest a redistribution of property such as was sometimes made in ancient democratic communities, he would be met by a thousand-tongued denial of imperial power over individual possessions. Not only in our day have these fundamental claims of the citizen been thus made good against the State, but sundry minor claims likewise.

“Ages ago, laws regulating dress and mode of living fell into disuse; and any attempt to revive them would prove the current opinion to be, that such matters lie beyond the sphere of legal control. For some centuries we have been asserting in practice, and have now established in theory, the right of every man to choose his own religious beliefs, instead of receiving such beliefs on State-authority. Within the last few generations we have inaugurated complete liberty of speech, in spite of all legislative attempts to suppress or limit it. And still more recently we have claimed and finally obtained, under a few exceptional

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restrictions, freedom to trade with whomsoever we please. Thus our political beliefs are widely different from ancient ones, not only as to the proper depositary of power to be exercised over a nation, but also as to the extent of that power.

“Not even here has the change ended. Besides the average opinions which we have just described as current among ourselves, there exists a less widely-diffused opinion going still further in the same direction. There are to be found men who contend that the sphere of government should be narrowed even more than it is in England. . . . They hold that the freedom of the individual, limited only by the like freedom of other individuals, is sacred ; and that the legislature cannot equitably put further restrictions upon it, either by forbidding any actions which the law of equal freedom permits, or taking away any property save that required to pay the cost of enforcing this law itself.”

Sir Arthur Clay, Bart., in proposing a vote of thanks to Dr Saleeby at the conclusion of the fourth lecture, said :—"I am performing a duty which is also a real pleasure. No one can have heard these four lectures, the last of which we have just listened to, without feeling how admirably they are adapted both to encourage those who feel the necessity for resolute resistance to the wave of sentimental philanthropy from which our country is suffering, and also to provide them with solid arguments in support of their opposition, 'built,' as the lecturer has said, 'upon the solid ground of nature.' I am not without a strong hope that in respect of social questions sounder and safer action may be looked for from the present than from the last Government. In possession of an enormous majority, they have an unrivalled opportunity for dealing with these great questions in a wise and statesmanlike way, for the real and permanent benefit of the country. We must recognise that the force now at their disposal is tremendous

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either for good or evil. It is therefore of the utmost importance that all possible light should be thrown on these questions, for it is upon their treatment that the fate of our Nation and our Empire will largely depend. These lectures, therefore, with their clear logic and their brilliant exposition of those fundamental laws of our being which underlie all social questions—laws which are inexorable, and which must be obeyed if humanity is to progress and not regress—could not have appeared at a more opportune moment. Questions such as those dealt with in these lectures are indeed, under present conditions of imperfect sociological knowledge, incapable of authoritative proof; for the tribunal which pronounces judgment upon the arguments advanced on either side is the mind of every individual to whom they are addressed, and it is affected by the infinite variety of inherited tendencies, of training, and of environment by which his character has been moulded. It is hopeless, therefore, to look for anything approaching

a unanimous verdict. All that can be done is to marshal the facts and the experience taught by the past, and to indicate clearly the inferences that may fairly be derived from them. This invaluable service has been very efficiently performed by Dr Saleeby in these four lectures. In the process he has brought forward, in a form available for use, a class of arguments which have been somewhat neglected by the advocates of individual as opposed to State development: I mean those derived from biological knowledge. These all point in the same direction, and powerfully reinforce the arguments made use of by enlightened charity, which appeal to the necessity of the development of the higher individual qualities if humanity is to continue to rise. There has been of late years a strong iconoclastic tendency amongst a certain class of social enthusiasts, and the great figure of Herbert Spencer has been one of those who have suffered much at their hands. We must all feel grateful to our lecturer for his vigorous reassertions of the

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value and truth of Herbert Spencer's teaching, and we must all feel that we have arrived at a point in social questions at which the road divides, and that one of its branches is the 'pathway to the stars,' whilst the other leads, as we believe, to social disintegration, and a slow but sure reversion to lower stages of human condition than that to which we have attained with so much effort and through such bitter experience. The British Constitutional Association stands at the parting of the ways and urges our citizens to choose the nobler path. We must all wish it success in the effort, and do all that in us lies to aid it."

Dr Saleeby's second course of lectures on "Individualism and Collectivism" will be as follows: 1. "Natural Selection and the State"; 2. "Liberty and the State"; 3. "Woman and the State"; 4. "Morality and the State."

M. H. J.

INDIVIDUALISM AND COLLECTIVISM

I

THE CHILD AND THE STATE

EVER since children were discovered, a generation or so ago, their social and political importance has steadily waxed in the sight of those thinkers who look upon civic and national questions from the standpoint of biology. To such thinkers it appears necessary, in discussing the nature of the relations that should obtain between the child and the State, for us to look upon the child with fresh eyes. All are agreed that of duties to the State he has none—an assertion later to be qualified; but it is now obvious that, in order to determine the nature of the State's

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duties towards him, it is necessary to determine exactly what manner of thing, biologically considered, a child is, what are its natural peculiarities and tendencies, and what its destiny.

Wordsworth has told us that "the child is father of the man," and the saying has become a platitude; but "the commonplaces," said Robert Louis Stevenson, "are the great poetic truths"; and the supreme importance and lofty destiny of the child, commonplaces though they be, are great political and scientific truths. We gaze around us, and if there is anything of which one glance convinces us, it is that we men and women vary widely from one another. Facially we vary, and in innumerable physical details, as also mentally and morally. Now, if men thus vary, and if the child be father of the man, must not children also thus vary? The conclusion does not necessarily follow, for every one of us has been subjected to an environment differing in greater or less degree from the environment of every other

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human being ; and as we all react to our environment, and must react differently to different environments, it might be that our adult differences were due to this alone, and that the child who was my father was indistinguishable from the child who was the father of any of my hearers.

But this position cannot be maintained, even though the bachelor may incline to the view that one baby is very like another. As students of biology, we must make the acquaintance of the supremely important fact called *variation*, a fact which, especially in the light of recent study, affords very striking and noteworthy support to that doctrine of individualism which it is the present legislative tendency of all civilised countries to ignore, and which it is the purpose of these lectures to support.

However produced, variation—the tendency to vary from the parent or parents—seems to be a universal property of living matter. As it is fundamentally important to our argument, we must carefully define it

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—the term being only too frequently misunderstood. In the language of biology, a variation must be absolutely distinguished from an *acquirement* or acquired character. The former is an individual difference which is innate, inborn, inherent, which you will ; the latter is an individual difference which is not inborn, but is the product of interaction with the environment. Thus I have already raised the question whether the differences between adult men and women might not be simply differences in acquirements—dependent upon the variety of our past environments. Now, the essential importance of distinguishing, finally and clearly, between variations and acquirements, lies in the different fashion in which they are treated by heredity. According to modern biology, variations constantly tend to be transmitted—a fact as to which there is no dispute. On the other hand, it is quite certain that almost all, if not all acquirements, are absolutely incapable of transmission. If your father is born with innate, superior mental ability, or with a

six-fingered hand, you tend to inherit his peculiarity, which is a *variation* ; but though he learns a dozen languages, or loses a finger, or makes any other acquirements whatever, before your birth, you will not inherit any of them. At most you will tend to inherit—what may indeed be well worth having—your father's *innate* power of making certain acquirements.

These things being so, we see that variations are of infinitely greater importance in relation to the future of society than are acquirements. According to the theory of organic evolution, now questioned by no competent and by very few incompetent critics, progress in the past has been made possible by the process which Darwin called “natural selection,” and Spencer the “survival of the fittest.” Now, it cannot be too often asserted that natural selection *does not create* : it merely selects ; and in order to selection there must be varieties or variations from which to select. A discussion of the causes of variation is beyond our scope ; but, in

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some way or other, variation occurs—a property of living matter not only universal but also invaluable, *since without it there can be no valid progress*. So says modern biology.

Now let us consider this proposition a little more closely. Even supposing that we were all born identical at birth, yet, since we would come to differ from one another in virtue of different acquirements, due to our adaptation to differing environments, natural selection would certainly have different individuals from which to select. Those who had made the most advantageous acquirements, such as industry or great knowledge, would tend to survive and prosper, whilst those who had made disadvantageous acquirements, such as laziness or the loss of sight or limbs, would be pushed to the wall. That process, of course, occurs in society at the present day to a greater or less degree, but it has only immediate and contemporary consequences. For if we recall the assertion that acquirements cannot be transmitted, we shall see that the selection of those who have made advantageous acquirements

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cannot benefit the next generation, since these acquirements die with their makers. The only process of natural selection which can result in progress is one which consists in the selection of favourable *variations*—or, at any rate, favourable inborn and therefore transmissible characters, such as good digestion, the musical sense, exceptional intelligence, the sympathetic temperament, or what not (in so far as these are inborn)—the reason being that such are transmissible, and that the children of persons so selected will tend to inherit their parents' good fortune. There is a fictitious way in which we speak of a child inheriting his father's acquirements, as when his father has acquired a "fortune"; but the child does much better to inherit his father's good sense or good health, which were characters inborn in him. Acquirements, then, are all very well for the day, but it is inborn characters, including variations—and all inborn characters began as variations—that alone count for the morrow. Now let us consider what variation signifies in the case of the child.

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So conspicuous is variation in the case of man that no two human beings start life with the same endowment; the obvious differences between adult men and women are in infinitely less degree due to environment, than to the inborn characters with which each of us started his individual existence. Had we all been brought up under one and the same environment from the moment of birth, we should differ, physically at any rate, scarcely less than we differ now. Mentally also we should differ still, though far less than we actually do.

Society, then, is not a collection of like units, but of units which are constantly and necessarily unlike. This is not a political proposition, but a simple statement of biological fact: the species of animal called man has so high a degree of variability that (the superficial opinion of the bachelor notwithstanding) no two human individuals are identical at birth. That is a biological truth, and it has to be dealt with by the politician. Furthermore, it is now recognised that not

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only does the individual differ from all his fellows, but his differences are more radical, and he is much less plastic, than was formerly supposed. He is certainly modifiable by his surroundings, but only at a cost.

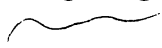
The fact of variation, it may be said, is the biological expression of the fact which we call individuality. Now, if variation or individuality means anything, it certainly means that the same environment cannot be equally desirable for two different individuals. Since every human being differs from every other, since every baby and child differs from every other, there must be, could it but be discovered, a particular environment in which his particular potentialities for happiness and for accomplishment will be best realised, and in which his undesirable potentialities—for we are complex creatures—will be most efficiently checked. This is a proposition based upon the solid ground of natural fact, and to my mind it seems to present the fundamental case for individualism with something like finality. On the other hand,

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the collectivist principle must necessarily stand, if it is to stand at all, upon a demonstration of the inherent *identity* of human beings. If instead of this identity there be individual variability, the collectivist principle—as we have already seen—plainly cannot make for the greatest *future* happiness of the *race*, for it tends towards the suppression of individuality, and therefore towards the obliteration of the natural function of variation, which is to provide material for natural selection. Anything that interferes with the natural selection of variations, interferes with the essential factor of all progress, past, present, and to come.

But our more immediate business now is with the child, and with the *present* happiness of the *individual*. If collectivism be opposed to the future welfare of the race, what of the individual and the present?

To the eyes of the biologist every child is just a fresh variation. On its arrival in the world, it finds itself already in an environment partly determined by astronomical, geological,



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and other conditions ~~over which~~ we have no control. But there are yet other conditions, such as lesson-books, over which we have control; and when first we put a lesson-book into the hand of a child, we are supposed to begin its education.

Now, as a student of biology, I will venture to propose a definition of education which is new, so far as I know, and which I hope and believe to be true and important. Comprehensively, so as to include everything that must be included, and yet without undue vagueness, I would define education as *the provision of an environment*. We may amplify this proposition, and say that it is the provision of a fit environment for the young and foolish by the elderly and wise. It has really scarcely anything in the world to do with my trying to make you pay for the teaching to my children of dogmas which I believe, and you deny. It neither begins nor ends with the three R's; and it does not isolate from that whole which we call a human being the one attribute which may be defined as the

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intellectual faculty. It is the provision of an environment, physical, mental, and moral, for the whole child, physical, mental, and moral. That is my *definition* of education. Now, what are we to say of the *object* of education? In providing the environment—from its mother's milk to moral maxims—for our child, what do we seek? Some may say, to make him a worthy citizen; some may say, to make him able to support himself; some may say, to make him fit to bear arms for his king and country; but I will give you the object of education as defined by the author of the most profound and wisest treatise which has ever been written upon the subject—Plato, Locke, and Milton not forgotten. “To prepare us for complete living,” says Herbert Spencer, “is the function which education has to discharge.” The great thing needful for us to learn is how to live, how rightly to rule conduct in all directions under all circumstances; and it is to that end that we must direct ourselves in providing an environment for the

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child. *Education is the provision of an environment, the function of which is to prepare for complete living.*

Now, the first fact on which I would insist is that, if what has been said regarding variations be true, if every child be a fresh instance of variation, if no two children be identical, then for each child there must be provided, in an ideal state, an environment suited to its own needs, and not so well suited to those of any other—if the object, complete life, is to be attained. Certainly the individual is modifiable by his surroundings, but there is only one direction in which modifications can be established so that the utmost may be obtained of which the child is capable. As I have said, the child is much less plastic than was formerly supposed. An unfit environment will modify him, certainly, so that, for instance, you may turn the child that might have made an excellent agricultural labourer into a fifteenth-rate clerk. The State is doing this as fast as it can all over most civilised countries

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to-day. The child is plastic in this sense ; but he is not plastic in the sense that as much can be made of him in any other directions as in that one direction for which his individual characters have destined him. Provide him with any but the precise environment fitted to his own individual characters—physical, mental, and moral—and he will very likely achieve some kind and measure of life, but it will not be complete life ; it may be well enough in its way, but there will always remain the might-have-been, and education has not perfectly discharged its function unless it has ensured the attainment of the utmost that was possible for each individual.

It is an admirable word this, Education ; there is real insight in it ; and though it was used in its present sense long before modern biology came into existence, long before Lamarck introduced the phrase *milieu environnant*, which we now render “environment,” yet it admirably stands the test of our modern biological conceptions. Literally, education is a “drawing-forth.” If a

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living thing like a child's mind be compared—as it cannot without much qualification—to a portmanteau, education consists not in packing the portmanteau, but in *unpacking* it. The agent of the process—the actual educer or educator—is the environment; and the fact of variation teaches us that that which has to be drawn forth—the contents of the trunk—is different in each individual case. Admirable though the word is, however, yet it is not quite adequate, for the child's possessions are not all worthy. He has in him the ape and tiger, and it is part of the business of education to

“Move upward, working out the beast,
And let the ape and tiger die,”

as Tennyson said. Thus *repression* must accompany education in the literal sense—the process has a negative as well as a positive aspect. Yet here also individuality remains as a fact to be dealt with. One child is “shifty,” another bad-tempered. In the case of one child, what we must repress is the ape, in another it is the tiger;

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and the same environment will not effect this service for both.

We are thus inevitably led to the conclusion that no system of education which implies the provision of the same environment for all children can possibly be regarded as perfect. The State, in our day and generation, regards it as its duty to ensure the education of the child, by which it understands practically the intellectual education alone, and in such a case there must necessarily be some uniformity—that blessed word, uniformity. It is true that when one wishes to enter, say, the medical profession, one has to pass through a certain curriculum. There are certain things one ought to know, and certain things one ought to be able to do. But, fortunately, the State does not take everyone by the collar and thrust him into a dissecting-room. Those who have to go through this curriculum are first selected for it, more or less successfully ; and even they, whilst presumably agreeing in certain psychological characters, can meet the needs of their

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individual variations by specialising, one in anatomy, another in surgery, another in experimental physiology, and so forth, whilst others, like the great Italians and our own Huxley and Darwin, may leave medicine for biology. But so far as the child is concerned, the State *does* take it by the collar and compels it to go through a uniform curriculum, the fitness of which for the purposes of every individual child is apparently not questioned. We may presume that when these curricula are framed, such a question never arises. The only questions are, what are the right things to teach? how much of them should be taught? when should their teaching be begun? and so forth—it being assumed, first of all, that the scholars are merely disembodied minds, having neither physique, parts, nor passions; and secondly, that each of these disembodied minds is identical with all the rest. It is the *tabula rasa* of Locke, a smooth tablet without any characters save impressibility, upon which certain proper things are forthwith to be

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written. In the first place, the State forgets—or forgot until last year—the existence of the body, and of quite a host of psychical characters apart from the mere intellect; and in the second place it forgets that, even if all the rest of the child save its intellectual faculty could be ignored, yet for the complete life of this alone its own fit mental environment is required. The only conceivable ways, I suppose, in which one smooth tablet can differ from another, are in area, in the depth to which they can be scored, and in the degree to which they retain what has been written upon them. But with all due respect to John Locke—that illustrious student of education—there is nothing in the whole cosmos less like a *tabula rasa* than the mind of a child. Those, therefore, who arrange curricula for an ideal child, or who never think about the child at all, but merely about the subjects that are to be taught, are engaged in a struggle against the first facts of human life—the facts of individual variation—and the lamentable consequences of their delusion

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are observed of all observers. Completely ignoring all other questions, therefore, as to the existence and rights of the parent, the matter of payment, the difficulty of religious dogma, and the like, we must condemn State education as at present conceived, if only on this ground, that the ideal curriculum for any one child, supposing it could be framed, would not be the ideal curriculum for any other—no, not for its twin brother. For every child there is a natural process of mental evolution which cannot be disturbed without injury. We must not force on the unfolding mind our artificial forms, but must recognise in the needs of the child's mind a law of supply and demand, to which we must conform, the demand never being precisely the same in any two cases.

Confining ourselves, then, for the time, to the consideration of the child's intellect, what alternative do we propose, if the establishment of a centrally designed curriculum, which assumes that the child's mind is a blank sheet of paper, is to be

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condemned? Let us frankly admit that the ideal is unattainable; but as frankly that that is no reason in the world why we should not seek to attain it. How near thereto may we go?

Well, in the first place, if my contentions are correct, we can no longer content ourselves with uniformity in our curriculum. Uniformity is for the uniform, not for the variable; and variation is a fact which we can neither alter nor safely ignore. There may be in our minds a type of the ideal man to which we would have every child conform. There is none such in my mind; my ideal man would have to have the intellectual faculty of Newton and of Spencer, would have to be able to write an *Eroica* Symphony, to be a hero, a martyr, and a saint, and make a thousand runs and take a hundred wickets in a season — these amongst a myriad other things. The ideal man would have to be a thousand men rolled into one; but even if we could frame an attainable ideal of a man, Nature sees to

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it that by the provision of no environment whatever can Tom, Dick, or Harry be made to conform to it. As the twig is bent, the tree is inclined : that must be granted. Your environment may *incline* the tree, but it will not alter its species. Tom may be an inclined or perverted Tom, but he will never be a Dick. Men do not gather figs of thistles, and if you seek to do so, you will only ensure the obtaining of inferior thistles. You will do better to aim at good thistles—they have their own use.

Against all the foregoing there may be urged the objection that it is *doctrinaire* ; that whilst the fact of variation and the consequent demand for individual treatment of each child's individuality may be unquestioned, yet we have to look at what is practicable. But the first step towards the attainment of an ideal is the recognition of it and of its worth. Could the ideal be attained, the individual and the State alike would benefit, for the character of the whole is dependent upon the worth of the units ; and

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the provision of the unique and fit environment for each new and unique personality is the only conceivable means by which its full worth can be attained.

Even whilst falling short of this ideal, we can at least do something by renouncing once and for all the principle of Procrustes. Our children are of different lengths, and if they are all to be adapted to the same bed, there are but few who will not suffer ; and we may even lay down the proposition that those will suffer most who are the most variable, and whose potentiality, where the variations are worthy, is therefore the highest. If we are to have State education at all—a question which I must beg for the nonce—we must abandon the idea of uniformity.

And this, at least, might surely be done. We may admit that—there being exceptions to this as to every generalisation that deals with living things—we may admit that the overwhelming majority of children may tread the same educational path, may be

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subjected to the same environment, for a time at least. In accordance with the general law of evolution, immature individuals more nearly resemble one another than do adult individuals, and so, for a time, a common environment may fit nearly all. Let us examine this proposition in relation to the kinds of environment.

The physical environment that is fit for one child is also fit, within the narrowest of limits, for every other. On this score, indeed, there are scarcely any variations to consult. Fresh air, sunshine, good food, warmth, cleanliness, exercise, due repose—these, indeed, may be meted out to all with an indiscriminating hand, until the very last day of their tutelage.

And for a time, as I have said, the mental environment may be uniform, but only for a very short time ; and this raises a most important question, in answering which, as in so many other instances, the State has erred. It would have been an easy but superfluous task to indict the State in regard

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to its treatment of the child, by rehearsing a selection of its more salient mistakes. But this one will serve as a sample of them. What is really meant by mental education? The State's definition is practically confined to the printed book. The State is eager to begin the mental education of the child as soon as possible, and, under the curious delusion that this cannot be begun until the book is utilised, the State is willing to undertake the elementary education of the child at the tender age of three years. Spencer's little treatise is put, I believe, into the hands of every State teacher in France, so that there, at least, the delusion may scarcely flourish that the mind of a child can undergo no development until it begins to learn its alphabet. But no one who has ever really observed a child can share such a delusion; and once we are disabused of it, we may be the readier to observe the utterly disastrous consequences of the premature education to which so many of our unfortunate children have been and are being subjected. Regard-

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less of the fact that an environment fitted to develop the mind at such a tender age can be provided without books or any apparatus that the stupid recognise as educational, we have hitherto encouraged the school attendance of tots of three. The Board of Education lately intended to withdraw its grants for the education of children between three and five, but the present Government has rescinded that intention. At the age of five the children must go to school. In Japan and in Switzerland—which share, I suppose, with Scotland the distinction of being the best educated countries in the world—the earliest school-age is seven. Again I propose to beg the great question whether the State should undertake the education of a child, even at this or any other age ; but I do most strenuously maintain that, if the State is to undertake this piece of business at all, the age of seven is the very earliest that can be agreed upon.

The objections to premature State interference with the child are many and various.

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In the first place, there is the fact—irrelevant, I admit, to the individualist contention—that, as Medical Officers of Health are pointing out all over the country, the herding together of children at the most susceptible ages is a very important factor in the spread of infectious disease. The terrible mortality from whooping-cough and measles—the measure of which is unfortunately unrecognised by most of us—would unquestionably be diminished almost beyond recognition if, at least, we adopted the minimum school-age of Switzerland and Japan. Our method of preference, however, which may doubtless be defended as making the best or the second best of a bad job, is to multiply doctors and nurses for the inspection of the children—a step which is humanitarian in its immediate consequences, but seems to me to lead to perilous places.

The second objection to premature State interference with the child, though possibly of no greater practical importance, is at least as important.

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It is that, though the mental development of the child during the first septennium is of the utmost interest and importance and magnitude, yet it is most disastrous to attempt to "educate" a child at three or four—the word educate being here used in the almost imbecile use of ordinary speech.

The attempt is demonstrably disastrous. It is the constant experience of observant teachers—and the assertion is strongly supported by the recent reports of the women inspectors appointed by the Education Department—that the child whose literary education has thus been prematurely commenced is rapidly outstripped by the child who begins at the later age. Not only do we present to the tiny mind a diet which it is unfitted to digest, just as the ignorant mother gives starch-containing infant foods to her baby ; not only is the diet wasted, but it injures the organ to which it is presented. The starch often kills the baby, and the premature education often goes far to destroy the child's mind. The child has

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a thousand desirable mental interests, as its delightful curiosity demonstrates, but we regard its curiosity as a nuisance, and present to it that concerning which it is *as yet* unfitted to be curious. Abundant experience is showing that the same is true with regard to Greek in later years. The boy who starts Latin at ten and Greek at twelve, takes naturally to these splendid languages, and rapidly outstrips his fellow on whom they were prematurely thrust.

If we desire to support, on other grounds than those of experience, the proposition that a child should not begin its literary education till the age of seven, we can easily, if superfluously, be satisfied. Embryologists tell us that the anatomical structure of the human brain is not complete until about the age of seven years. Thereafter the brain becomes larger and doubtless undergoes subtle physical changes corresponding to increase of knowledge and experience ; but until that age the *obvious* internal structure of the brain, such as any anatomist can recognise, is incom-

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plete ; and it is the highest area of the brain, that part which cannot be identified with any muscular movement or with any sensations, or with any merely physical functions whatever, that is found to be the last to develop. Thus embryology confirms experience in its condemnation of the present fashion in which the State lays its heavy and deforming fingers upon the developing mind. I am always sorry to hear of a child that can read before it is seven, unless I am certain that the child spontaneously insisted on learning—as, I admit, many children do.

Someone may ask me how a child is to be educated if one does not want it to read until it is seven. Perhaps I may be allowed to quote from myself :—

A child not yet seven may be taught how to articulate, how to masticate, how to sleep at regular intervals, how to develop a healthy and trustworthy appetite ; may be taught to love the sunshine and flowers, and living things ; may be taught sympathy with all that feels ; may be taught obedience (“ it is

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as easy to teach obedience to a child as to a well-bred dog") ; may be taught courtesy, and the schooling of its emotions ; may be taught the rudiments of drawing, and the difference between a musical note that is what it professes to be and one that is flat or sharp. In short, during these years, it is possible to teach a child nearly all those things in which its seniors are so woefully deficient. And if the foundations of these priceless acquirements are not now laid, they will cost far more, or be unpurchasable, in later years. No ! we shall not be "gravelled for lack of matter" during these seven years, and if we were, we might do worse, I think, even as educationists, than follow the advice of Rosalind, and "take occasion to kiss." I do not think the love of its elders an entirely insignificant part of the child's environment.

It is in the recognition of these requirements and many more that we reach the third objection to premature State interference with the child—an objection which is

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more positively relevant than these others to the doctrine of individualism. It is that such interference, nominally on the child's behalf, has far more disastrous consequences than merely its exposure to infection or to mental indigestion. It is that this is interference with that all-important part of the child's education which should be, and can be—nay, must be—discharged during its first septennium, and which no State system that ever was or will be can discharge: that part of its education which is the supreme duty of the mother, and for which none but the maternal heart is fitted.

If the foregoing be true, we must conclude that the future of any State is secure only in so far as it recognises and attempts to promote the individuality of the child—the child who thereby will be best fitted to dignify and to enjoy the liberty and responsibility which in full measure must afterwards be his. But perhaps I may add one argument pertaining, if not to the child, at least to the filial relation. The duty of

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the parent to the child, encompassed as it is by the most powerful biological sanctions, is surely beyond dispute. The theory of organic evolution suffices to explain the development of that priceless parental instinct which the doctrine of individualism is so eminently right in recognising. For the survival and success of the race, parental affection was necessary ; not so, however, filial affection. So far as the success of the race is concerned, the aged, including the aged parent, have hitherto been of little account. In future times we may hope that they may become of more and more account, in virtue of their wisdom and experience ; but otherwise their work is done, and thus there has been no definite method of selection by which the filial instinct has tended to be strengthened. The parental instinct is of supreme "survival-value," to use the biologists' phrase. The race that had it not could not survive ; but the filial instinct has scarcely any survival-value, if any at all, and so we find that, as

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Herbert Spencer lamented, our common morality is conspicuously deficient in what he calls "filial beneficence." "The last to show itself," he says, "among the bonds which hold the family together—the care of parents by offspring—is the one which has most room for increase. With the strengthening of intellectual and moral sympathy, the latter days of life will be smoothed by a greater filial care, reciprocating the greater parental care bestowed in earlier life."

Here, then, for the child of a larger growth is a duty which, though of little direct value to the *race*, is of the utmost value to the aged, and of incalculable moral worth to the child himself. Now, in Japan, which has a much larger population than that of Great Britain, there are some thirty thousand paupers. We yearly relieve about three-quarters of a million, more or less. But Japan is a country of ancestor worshippers, and ancestor worship encourages the filial attitude. In that country the

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young man puts aside from his first wage-earning days a quantum towards the future support of his aged parents. Everywhere in that remarkable land this is recognised as a foremost duty which no respectable son can omit, and this goes very far to account for the fact that, whilst we have one pauper in fifty, they have one in fifteen hundred or so.

Serious as is the need for a fresh recognition of the filial duty, the State is taking steps to interfere, in this most important respect, with the responsibility of the child, and is thereby assuredly prejudicing its own security. With a nice sense of consistency, the State is doing its best, as we shall soon see, to establish the doctrine of parental irresponsibility, whilst it now proposes, by balancing old-age pensions against free education and the like, to establish the doctrine of filial irresponsibility, which is in no need, alas ! of such support. It says to the parent, " You need not concern yourself : we will look after your child " ;

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and to the child, "You need not concern yourself: we will look after your aged parents." Furthermore, the State interferes with filial duty at an early age, as when it deprives the widow of the domestic help of her elder children, who are claimed by their "education" so-called. Says Herbert Spencer, in words which I make no apology for quoting at length :—

"Let it be seen that the future of a nation depends on the natures of its units; that their natures are inevitably modified in adaptation to the conditions in which they are placed; that the feelings called into play by these conditions will strengthen, while those which have diminished demands on them will dwindle; and it will be seen that the bettering of conduct can be effected, not by insisting on maxims of good conduct, still less by mere intellectual culture, but only by that daily exercise of the higher sentiments and repression of the lower, which results from keeping men [including sons and daughters] subordinate to the requirements of orderly social

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life—letting them suffer the inevitable penalties of breaking these requirements and reap the benefits of conforming to them. This alone is national education.”

“Of the ends to be kept in view by the legislator, all are unimportant compared with the end of character-making; and yet character-making is an end wholly unrecognised.”

Either the State is very far wrong, or else the great individualist. I leave you to choose between them.

II

THE PARENT AND THE STATE

IN the preceding lecture of this series, I attempted to assert the testimony of biology to the individual—whose individuality was asserted to be the expression of the fact which the biologist calls variation. It was further asserted that variation is all-important for the future of the race, since variations and not acquirements are transmitted by heredity, and since it is therefore essential that natural selection—which is the essential factor of all valid progress — should have the utmost freedom in its choice of worthy variations, which in virtue of heredity will tend to be perpetuated in the race.

Now, in proceeding to discuss the parent and the State, I would first seek to observe

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the manner in which the propositions of my previous lecture—which, as the members of the Association will remember, was delivered from the biological standpoint—cause the biologist, with the would-be impartial eye of science, to look upon the parent: for just as he has his own estimate of the child, differing in some ways from that of the layman, so he has his own characteristic estimate of the parent.

Everyone is familiar with Tennyson's assertion of Nature :

“So careful of the type she seems,
So careless of the single life” ;

and there is certainly a sense in which this is a half-truth. Nature is certainly not an individualist in the sense that she is prepared to make any sacrifices for the “single life” ; nevertheless she has an immense interest in individuals ; in the previous lecture we saw her reason. If for the moment we may personify her and use a figure of speech which is, I admit, philosophically indefensible, we

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may say that it is ever her purpose to choose, to select, those individuals which seem best fitted for her supreme end—amplitude and efficiency of life. Thus we saw why variations—that is to say, individuality—must be encouraged, since otherwise we tend to narrow the field of natural selection. Individuals tend to transmit their individual characters in so far as these are inborn, and thus the advance of living species is accomplished. These, of course, are the veriest biological commonplaces.

Thus, if we take large views, as Nature does, we must necessarily divide the individuals of any generation into two groups, of immeasurably different importance—the parents and the non-parents. Nature believes, so to speak, in the laws of heredity, and it is her interest to determine which individuals shall belong to which group. For the non-parents she, so to speak—“careless of the single life”—recks little or nothing. Her supreme interest is with those chosen individuals upon whose characters and behaviour, as upon no other

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factor in the universe, the whole future of the race depends.

The vast importance of the parent depends upon two circumstances—the heredity and the environment which he determines for his child. In the first place, it depends upon causes which, once he is chosen for the parental function, are outside his volition ; and, in the second place, upon causes with which his volition should be supremely concerned. Beyond his volition are the facts of heredity. Once it is decreed that he is to become a parent, this factor will take its own course, being, as practically all students of heredity are now agreed, uncontrollable, unmodifiable by any human science or art. Even if this is not completely true, it is so nearly so as to be accepted for practical purposes. But, secondly, the importance of the parent depends upon the circumstance that, in the natural state, the environment of his child is in pre-eminent measure determined by him. In the last lecture I endeavoured—when defining education as the provision of an environment

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—to show the all but immeasurable importance of this function—this parental function, as I maintain it to be. Let us now consider, in further detail, the natural importance of the parent in these two respects.

In the first place, then, it is all-important, the facts of heredity being what they are, to recognise that every means which will facilitate the natural selection of the best parents is of the utmost value. Such means are already known to Nature, as we have seen, and they are in operation in every society to-day. If we compare the death-rate amongst married and unmarried persons, we find that the former have the advantage. Hence foolish people, whom I would not let loose amongst the cricket averages, so innocent are they of any statistical criticism, have inferred that marriage tends towards health. I am not prepared to say that it does not, or that it does ; but I am absolutely certain of the correctness of Herbert Spencer's explanation of the discrepancy in the death-rates. The truth is that selection has already taken

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place before the married are submitted for our study. On the average, the married man—to whom we may confine ourselves, since the case is similar with his mate—was selected, as against the bachelor, for one or more of such qualities as good looks, athletic powers, good spirits and temper, energy, industry, and intelligence enabling him to command the necessary income, various characters or accomplishments—ultimately depending upon individual variation—which make him distinguished and interesting to the other sex, and which are nearly all practically dependent on physical stamina.

Here we have a ready explanation of his superior longevity, viz. that marriage selection tends to select good health. Now, if for the nonce we take marriage as equivalent to parenthood, we see that various natural processes, which we may conveniently sum up by the term sexual selection, are already serving Nature's purpose, which is to choose the best individuals as the parents of the coming generation. Now, it may be posi-

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tively laid down that any process which makes for the completeness and efficiency of such selection, makes for the benefit of the race from the next generation onwards. On the contrary, every device (save that necessary device of marriage, to which we shall refer in our next lecture) that interferes with sexual or any other form of natural selection of parents is to be condemned.

Collectivist restrictions on marriage have been familiar from the earliest times, being more prominent the further back we go, in accordance with the general rule that the progress of society is from collectivism towards individualism.¹ For instance, there is exogamy, the rule that one must marry outside one's tribe or clan ; endogamy, the rule that one must marry inside one's tribe or clan ; taboo in its countless forms—all interfering with the natural choice of the individual in marriage ; laws of celibacy, pro-

¹ We may turn to Japan for a thousand lessons, but even its lover, Lafcadio Hearn, came to see the terrible consequences of its collectivism—a state fit only for low societies of men, or those of bees and the social insects in general.

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hibiting the marriage of various persons and classes, such, for instance, as that law of celibacy in the Roman Catholic Church which my distinguished friend, Mr Francis Galton, thinks to have worked such loss to the world by prohibiting the parenthood of the select for many centuries — those whose finer mental powers selected them for the priesthood, whereby those powers were deprived of any chance of transmission ; laws of caste, as we find them in many Eastern countries ; and a host besides. Every one of these interferences with the liberty of the individual has been supported in the supposed interests of the State. None of them has the smallest biological sanction.

On the other hand, there have been many artificial and essentially collectivist devices which aimed and still aim at the encouragement of marriage with a view to parenthood — devices most commonly invented in the interests of militarism, the growing population being regarded simply as food for powder. With the more direct of these,

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as seen in the past, I need not deal ; but it is necessary to consider very carefully certain contemporary devices which interfere with natural and salutary processes. Take France, for instance ; take any country where the State offers to parentage encouragement of an essentially artificial kind. For the sake of argument the particular species of encouragement does not matter ; it may take a large number of forms, most of which are ultimately equivalent to a tax on bachelors : the actual offer of a bonus per child, free education, an avowed tax on bachelors, and so on.

Now, as a biologist I take exception to any device which proposes to cajole into parentage anyone who would otherwise fail to perform this function. In general, I believe those individuals to be the fittest parents who have the natural, spontaneous, unforced desire to become parents. Certainly to become a parent for the sake of "cash down" does not augur well for the baby when the cash is spent. Holding as I

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do that an absolutely necessary condition for fit parentage is the desire to attain to it for its own sweet sake, I protest against any measures, all of collectivist nature, which seek to confuse the issue by the introduction of any motive State-supplied — whilst the sole worthy motive, the only one which will have satisfactory consequences, is the love of children. Much though one may sympathise with the struggling father of a family, or feel inclined to welcome a tax on the really selfish bachelor, yet we cannot expect any but disastrous consequences to ensue from any application of the principle that the State should take upon itself the duties to which—assuming him to be sane and well—a father has rendered himself liable. The father's liability is clearer to-day, perhaps, than ever before. We have now freely to recognise the extremely important fact that parentage is not the result of Providence or chance. Our falling birth-rate is the subject for many bewailings, not the least remarkable of which is the recent extraordinary

outburst of the Bishop of London. All who subscribe to the religion of the intellect must believe that the knowledge to which he referred will be of the utmost value to mankind, in its tendency to restrict parentage to those who are deliberately willing to undertake the responsibilities which it implies, and who have that temperament which, making them love children, tends also to make them fit to have them. But such restriction of parentage to the fittest cannot be adequately achieved in the presence of any collectivist measures, seeking, as I have said, to bolster up or supplement by unworthy motives the one motive that we may call worthy. I will read you two quotations from *The Study of Sociology*—quotations which acquire a new emphasis in consequence of certain necessary qualifications, as we read them to-day, when the knowledge to which I have referred is rapidly becoming universal:—

“By way of checking recklessness, and discouraging improvident marriages, and

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raising the conception of duty, we are diffusing the belief that it is not the concern of parents to fit their children for the business of life, but that the nation is bound to do this. Everywhere there is a tacit enunciation of the marvellous doctrine that citizens are not responsible individually for the bringing-up, each of his own children, but that these same citizens incorporated into a society, are each of them responsible for the bringing-up of everybody else's children. The obligation does not fall upon A in his capacity of father, to rear the minds as well as the bodies of his offspring ; but in his capacity of citizen, there does fall on him the obligation of mentally rearing the offspring of B, C, D, and the rest ; who similarly have their direct parental obligations made secondary to their indirect obligation to children not their own." "Presently it will be seen," Spencer goes on, writing thirty years ago, "that, since good bodily development, as well as good mental development, is a pre-requisite to good citi-

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zenship (for without it the citizen cannot maintain himself, and so avoid wrong-doing), society is responsible also for the proper feeding and clothing of children; indeed, in school-board discussions, there is already an occasional admission that no logically defensible halting-place can be found between the two. And so we are progressing towards the wonderful notion, here and there finding tacit expression, that people are to marry when they feel inclined, and other people are to take the consequences.”¹

Observe the last sentence, “People are to marry when they feel inclined, and other people are to take the consequences.” Upon this we must now make the important comment that, if not to-day then to-morrow, the consequences of marriage will be universally under human control. When this is everywhere recognised, the responsibility incurred by every father will be more clearly defined than ever. His neighbours—or the State,

¹ *The Study of Sociology*, p. 369.

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if you please—will know, and will act on the knowledge, that this man deliberately, knowingly, intentionally caused a child of his to be brought into the world. When the deliberate paternal intention may be thus assumed in the case of every new baby, the inevitable and inalienable nature of a father's responsibilities may become more clearly recognised.

When the State takes upon itself the care of a child, it may have many motives. It may have, in the case of a male child, for instance, the motive that this is a potential soldier ; but the only motive which I propose to recognise at all is the humanitarian motive—the only one which will stand the criticism of the moralist. Here, then, is a child whose father is able-bodied, and yet this child may be in need : what is the State to do ? Let us say that the child is hungry. Well, all the “-isms” notwithstanding, I am prepared to say that no child should be allowed to hunger ; but I will go further, and say that this proposition is strictly com-

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patible with the most consistent individualism. There are only too many forms of charity which are open to grave criticism on individualist grounds. Their immediate results are undoubtedly humanitarian in greater or less measure. The object and the obvious result of the municipal milk depôt or the school breakfast are undoubtedly humanitarian. When individualists criticise such measures, many people whose kind hearts we all respect declare that we are preaching inhumanity ; but here let me protest, once and for all, against that perversion of individualist doctrine which asserts that we deny the duty of caring for the needy. Here and there the individualist may even have as warm a heart as his critics. Only perversity or stupidity can confuse individualism with pure egoism—an assertion of the doctrine, “Every man for himself, and the devil take the hindmost.” Pure egoism implies absolute licence. Remembering Ruskin’s admirable distinction between the words, we may say that, in the place of the *licence* of

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the past, individualism asserts the need for *liberty*, which, I suppose, is licence qualified by responsibility : and amongst our responsibilities are those which are enjoined on us by the supreme law of love. No political or sociological theory which seeks to controvert that law can earn anything but contempt from the biologist, who knows the part which love has played in the making of man. Untold geological ages have passed since absolute licence, pure egoism, was successful in the struggle for existence. On the contrary, we maintain that not only is individualism not identical with egoism, but it is compatible with, and directs our search for, the truest and most effective, because the most far-sighted altruism.

In caring for the needy child, whether in one way or another, we must look beyond merely the first link in the endless chain of consequences. For instance, the parental duties are of the utmost moral value for the parent. Suppose then that, hastily seeking to care for the needy mind of a child, and

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not seeking to discriminate in the application of our charity, we undertake the early education, so-called, of a man's children. Says Herbert Spencer : — "The parental relation strengthens from hour to hour the habit of postponing immediate ease and egoistic pleasure to the altruistic pleasure obtained by furthering the welfare of offspring. There is a frequent subordination of the claims of self to the claims of fellow-beings ; and by no other agency can the practice of this subordination be so effectually secured. Not, then, by a decreased, but by an increased, sense of parental responsibility is self-control to be made greater and recklessness to be checked. And yet the policy now so earnestly and undoubtingly pursued is one which will inevitably diminish the sense of parental responsibility. This all-important discipline of parents' emotions is to be weakened, that children may get reading and grammar and geography more generally than they would otherwise do. A superficial intellectualisa-

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tion is to be secured at the cost of a deep-seated demoralisation.”¹

In such a case our humanitarianism has cheated itself of its end. There is no need here to insist on any more of the countless instances in which it is said that individualist teaching is in conflict with humanitarianism—whilst, in reality, it points the way towards the attainment of results long sought, but hitherto unattained, by the humanitarian who never thinks beyond the first step.

Let us return, then, to the case of the hungry child—the case of the sixty thousand children who, it is declared, go inadequately fed to our State schools in London every morning. I may quote you three opinions as to our duty. One is that of Mr Jonathan Hutchinson, the distinguished surgeon, who has eloquently discoursed upon the advantages of what he calls the “nationalisation of the child.” Another is that of Sir John Gorst, who agrees that these children must be fed,

¹ *Study of Sociology*, p. 371.

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but who—despite recent misrepresentation of his opinions—has declared in public, and in private to many persons, including myself, that the parents must pay. Intermediate between these two opinions is that of Dr Macnamara, who, agreeing with everyone else that no child should go hungry, says that “parents who can, must make due provision for the proper feeding of their children; if they neglect this duty as the result of self-indulgence, drink, and the like, they must be pursued with the utmost rigour of the law.”

Let us deal first with Mr Hutchinson. He would ask no questions: the children must be fed, and when that is done our duty is accomplished. It is an amazing doctrine. One would think that the food dropped into the children's mouths from the sky. One would think that it is not morally injurious to a man or a woman to be allowed to neglect an imperative duty. One would think that child and parent lost nothing, immediately, and in time to come, by the abolition of

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that primal relation on which Nature has set, in every woman's bosom, the seal of her approval.

I would beseech Mr Hutchinson and those who think with him to ponder over the quotations—with their context—which I have just read you.

Sir John Gorst's proposal is vastly different. Once it be admitted that there are hungry children, and that hungry children must be fed, I fail to see any possible objection, individualist or other, to Sir John's proposal. This is not an academic question of a hypothetical world. There the poor shivering children are, and our immediate business is to do as Sir John proposes. But if it be the function of the State to preserve justice, and if the object of justice be to preserve that state of affairs in which every man is free to do that which he wills, provided he infringes not the equal freedom of any other man—in other words, if justice consists in a due balance between liberty and responsibility—then we must deal with the defaulting

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parent. This is not necessarily to say that we are to imprison him or to show ourselves vindictive towards him, but certainly our duty has not ended when we have fed the child. We must proceed to deal with his father—whether as a criminal or as a debtor or as a patient, I need not now discuss.

As for Dr Macnamara's proposal—which I hope I am correctly interpreting—it seems to me to be imperfect already, and certain to become more imperfect in the future, when we shall be free to regard a man as deliberately and, so to speak, gratuitously responsible for the occurrence of his children. I am far from satisfied with the formula, "if they neglect this duty as the result of self-indulgence, drink, and the like." I should rather say, *if they neglect this duty, whilst physically and mentally competent to perform it*. Who on earth can define such a term as self-indulgence? If the father is imbecile, or diseased, or otherwise incapable, then he, together with his child, is a subject for our charity. If not, he is responsible, and must

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be treated as such. The only excuse for neglect of this duty is physical or mental inability to perform it.

Mr Hutchinson talks of nationalising the child ; but Nature is not mocked, and her hand is against him. In the most amusing passage of his *Religio Medici*, Sir Thomas Browne wished it were possible to abolish Nature's methods of replenishing the race. He described Nature's "way to perpetuate the world" as "trivial and vulgar" ; but he was fortunate to live to an age when he was able to dismiss this early book of his in very slighting language. In the context Browne speculates as to other possibilities of reproduction ; but never even he speculated more idly. Nature has decreed that parentage must be an individual matter. You may seek to nationalise the child, but you will never nationalise parentage. The State may try to play the paternal and maternal or grand-maternal rôle ; but I see no prospect of any official apparatus for the production of babies—that must remain the affair of

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individuals, and, in increasing measure, the affair of their own deliberate volition. With such volition responsibility for its consequences is necessarily conjoined.

I have said much of the father : what now of the mother ? The State is without prospect of superseding by any collective device the earlier stages of her individual effort, but it is now seeking in many ways to supersede her in so far as her duties after the birth of the child are concerned. Heaven knows, there is need for action of some sort ! Even to-day there is amongst us an appalling and unspeakably horrible phenomenon which is called the infantile mortality—a term which expresses the fact that about one child in seven of all born in these islands never lives to reach the first anniversary of its birthday. The infantile mortality is *slightly higher now than it was sixty years ago*, though the adult death-rate has been enormously reduced. Now, if we premise, as no one will deny, that an important factor in its production is parental

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carelessness, and if we remember that “the supreme object of the legislator is character-making,” let us see whether our modern methods, immediately humanitarian though they certainly are, do not tend towards the aggravation of parental carelessness, and therefore towards the ultimate injury of all concerned.

According to Nature—the only authority whom we can recognise as final—it is a mother’s duty to feed her child for some months after its birth by a remarkable transmutation of her own life-blood. This is her duty because, if she be in health, no other device is of equal value for her child. Approximately, the infantile mortality is at least thirty times higher amongst infants whom their mothers do not feed than amongst those whom they do. Yet, owing to two distinct reasons, the proportion of children so fed is steadily diminishing. The first reason is that, owing to the higher proportion of our population that now lives in cities—77 per cent., as against 51 per

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cent. sixty years ago—many more mothers than of yore are found to be physically *unable* to nurse their children. But a more important reason, and one that immediately concerns us, is that a larger proportion of mothers than probably in any preceding age of our history are *unwilling* to nurse their children. Society is indeed found to be worse and worse in this respect according as we direct our examination upwards in the social scale ; but, apparently in order to teach to the lower classes the lesson already learnt by their “betters,” we are now establishing all over the country what are known as municipal milk depôts, providing a “humanised milk,” so-called, with which an ever-increasing number of infants are being fed.

But it is, I think, an interesting fact for the individualist that there is no known substitute for the maternal breast that is any more than a makeshift. Medical men who have a due sense of language are now protesting against the use of the word

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“humanised” in describing municipal or any other form of modified cow’s milk. They point out that the term is misleading and incorrect ;—it is impossible to humanise milk. Nature is not mocked. For the feeding of the human infant she has made arrangements which can neither be dispensed with nor successfully imitated. It is now known that children fed on humanised milk, so-called, require the utmost precautions in order to avert the consequences—disease and malnutrition—which follow if it be assumed that any artificial product can rival Nature.

I freely grant that these depôts have already saved thousands of lives. Had I my way, I certainly should not dare to abolish them to-morrow. Even though we may realise that the doctrine of parental responsibility was never in more need of respect than to-day, we cannot deliberately forgo obvious means of saving child-life, in order to immolate helpless infancy before the altar of this or any other creed. In the case of the contemporary child and parent, it is impos-

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sible to begin at the beginning. We have not to "take things as we find them," as those assert who regard individualism as identical with the doctrine of *laissez-faire*; but we have to *deal with* things as we find them. We should begin at once by dropping the use of the word humanised, and by teaching every mother who applies to the depôt that her child is getting only the second best. And our moral instructors should urge upon the mother the moral necessity, as well as the physical, of nursing her child, and thereby developing in herself that supreme instinct of maternal sympathy which will be of incalculable moral worth to herself and to her child in the coming years. It is a lamentable thing that the clergy and ministers of the various denominations should be constantly misguided in their attempts to do their duty as teachers of morals. As Major Barbara says in Mr Bernard Shaw's play, "I began to think more of their pence and halfpence than of their souls." But if the clergy are open to

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criticism, what of our educational system? Instead, for instance, of that arbitrary agglomeration of fictions called English grammar, which has no relation to Reality or Truth as an object of intellectual attainment, nor yet any relation to character-making, nor yet the smallest relation whatever to utility—would it not be well for us to seek to impart a due sense of the supremely sacred character of the parental relation, and the means whereby it may be worthily sustained? Surely these should be amongst the foremost objects of education. It is an amazing thing that the most serious and important enterprise which each child may be expected one day to have to undertake, is precisely that for which no kind of preparation is deemed necessary. Not only, as I tried to show in the first part of this lecture, do we seek to interfere in many ways with the all-important process of parental selection, but whilst variously endeavouring to obscure by means of trivial and unworthy motives the only fit motive for parentage, we do absolutely

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nothing in order to prepare our children for this great function. Worse than this, by our modern methods of so-called education, we often interfere with the natural development of those instincts which make human beings fit for the parental relation, as, for instance, when we snatch away her dolls from a little girl and set her to learn grammar. We do not see that this foreshadowing of the maternal instinct is well worthy of our encouragement.

In my last lecture I advanced scientific reasons for agreement with the many and weighty opinions in favour of the view that a child's schooling should not be begun before it is seven years old. I commented on the fact that the Board of Education had asserted its intention of withholding the grants for children between the ages of three and five. We now learn that, under the present Ministry, that opinion is to be reconsidered. Professor Michael Sadler, the foremost student of education in this country, has lately urged the necessity for taking these

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children under the care of the State. Well now, let us call a spade a spade. If so be, for one reason or another, lower-class parents cannot be trusted with their own children, and if so be we continue to insist that, at the age of five at any rate, the children are to leave their homes for so many hours a day, let us drop the pretence that this part of State interference or State care is to be regarded as education in the narrow sense of that term. Let us have it clearly understood that any State treatment of children up to the age of seven is a matter of providing, not State schools, but State nurseries and State homes. Let us be honest about it, and realise what we are doing; that is a highly necessary preliminary towards due criticism of it. Since all competent persons are agreed that schooling is a matter which should not concern the first septennium of life, let us understand clearly that anything we may safely do for children during that period is not schooling. The pretence that it is schooling is already being dropped in the

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case of children from three to five ; and even though the new Government is to continue to welcome them, I cannot believe that it will offer them the same treatment as that of the past. Soon we shall see that, up to the age of seven years as well, the only thing we can possibly offer to these children is not schooling, but a temporary substitute-home and substitute-nursery. Thus we must recognise that our problem has been altered, so far, at any rate, as these years are concerned. Schooling, of course, is a function of the utmost importance and difficulty, and it is highly necessary that it should be conducted by a body of trained experts, chosen without fear or favour or sectarian prejudice, from the widest possible field, and supported by the encouragement and respect of the community which they serve. But the pædagogic function is not the same as the maternal function, and we will do well henceforward to recognise that up to the age of seven years the child must be taken—if taken at all—from its own home or nursery,

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not to a State school, but to a State home or nursery. The proper persons to take charge of these children during these years are thus not schoolmasters or schoolmistresses, but substitutes for mothers. What we are to do, then, is forcibly to take these children from their own mothers and put them under the care of State-provided substitutes. I have lately pointed out the new function which, under our present collectivist methods, opens out before the trained nurse. If these methods are to continue, we must engage the services of thousands of trained nurses to take care of these children during the so-called school-hours. Heaven help the wretched children in the holidays, returning to homes where no provision is made for them! The whole idea of holidays for elementary school children is idiotic, and pertains to the notion that they have been schooled. No child requires a holiday from its nursery—more especially when the State nursery has dissuaded the mother from providing any nursery—or even the nursery

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spirit—at home. If we are to take the children away from their homes, the provision of trained nurses is the best we can do for them. I can only hope that we may soon reach at least that stage—whereupon the preposterous and indiscriminating character of the whole business will be apparent, and perhaps here and there a mother or two may be found to ask the question, “Why in the world should I be compelled daily to give up my own children to the care of another woman?” Why, indeed?

III

THE FAMILY AND THE STATE

IN the two preceding lectures of this series I endeavoured to discuss, from the biological standpoint, the due relations which should subsist between the Child and the State, and between the Parent and the State. It is evident that the subject of the present lecture is essentially one with the subject of its predecessors: the dictum of Sir William Chance was abundantly relevant—as relevant a fortnight ago as it would be to-day—that the family is the unit of the State.

And here, at once, our argument begins. It may be introduced by an important saying of Sir Henry Maine's, that *the unit of an ancient society was the family, and of a modern society is the individual*. Thus it may be said

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that *the disintegration of the family* is a tendency of modern times. For the relations of domestic life—for family relations—we are tending in large measure to substitute certain relations of social life, or State relations: and the question for us to decide is whether this tendency can be regarded as fundamentally safe, or whether it must be denied the ultimate sanction which, as I submit, Nature alone can afford it.

It seems to me that it is first necessary for us to devote some little time to the subject of marriage—and this term, for present purposes, may be taken as synonymous with monogamy. Other varieties of marriage need not be referred to for the moment. Modern sociologists are quite agreed, as references to Westermarck or to Howard's recent *History of Matrimonial Institutions* will show, that, in the development of society, any other forms of marriage, or so-called marriage, than monogamy—which, itself, may have varieties, of course—have played parts of no dignity or moment. Now, under

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the various forms of monogamy, as of polygamy, its nearest though distant competitor, we find the establishment of the *family*, which—in accordance with Sir Henry Maine's saying—was certainly the unit of all ancient societies of any importance. It would lead us too far afield for me to attempt to prove this statement. I can only ask you provisionally to accept it. Our first points, then, are that monogamy has been dominant, even in early society, and that thus the family, quite in our sense, was the ancient unit.

But we find, as Sir Henry Maine observed, that as states became larger, and the struggle for existence between one state and another became increasingly severe, that which was formerly a collection of families came to be regarded more as a collection of individuals, who were roughly to be distinguished according as they could or could not bear arms. Steadily through the centuries population increased and the military arts developed, whilst war was almost the normal and con-

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tinuous state of this hemisphere. *Militarism and family life are eternally opposed.* The Spartan mother who sent out her son to war, telling him to return with his shield or upon it, was not a type which Nature could permit to survive. The type that can survive and will survive, is the mother who cares more for her son than for any figment or abstraction, or even any concrete sum of other mothers' sons. The crisis constantly celebrated in song and story, in lyric, drama, and epic, is that which befalls the soldier, who, being also a husband, a father, or a son, goes forth, sometimes with his will, sometimes against it, leaving his loved ones perhaps for ever, leaving them to starve perhaps, leaving them "full of sorrow and leaden-eyed despairs," whilst he goes to fight for the State: in a righteous cause not once in a thousand times.

Militarism, which cannot recognise the liberty of the individual—militarism, with its press-gang and conscription—is the foe of family life.

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But we are approaching, though too slowly, the time when the military stage of society will have passed for ever, and with it must go that undue tendency towards disintegration of the family which militarism has always aided ; and we shall return, I hope and believe, to a new recognition of the fact that the preservation of the family is essential for the security of any State.

The possible types of the family depend upon the types of marriage ; but I have put aside, as historically of small importance, all forms of marriage except those of monogamy—and, in far less measure, polygamy. We may even go further and assert that polygamy has played a much smaller part in the history of the race than used to be supposed even recently, and monogamy a much larger part. The type of family produced by monogamy is, of course, familiar to all of us. It may, indeed, be the only type of family that has ever occurred to us as possible. Modern students are agreed that it is of far greater importance than all other types put together

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in the development of society, and we shall here ignore all other types of family than that produced by monogamy.

It is my assured conviction that when persons who fancy themselves to be sociologists approach such questions as marriage, and attempt to build upon anything but the solid ground of Nature, they are certain to err most grievously. Monogamy, and therefore the family, is now being attacked by a number of critics—not one of whom, by the way, seems to have realised at all that, if he destroys monogamy, some changes perhaps may be expected in the family. If you asked any of these critics, Do you wish to destroy family life, then? he would scarcely dare to say Yes. Yet, if we are to accept their substitutes for monogamy, we must say good-bye to family life. That, I admit, is a deduction requiring a measure of logic—but surely no excessive measure.

Anyone, even the class of people who attack it, can see that marriage is not always an unqualified success. It is not everyone,

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however, who sees that marriage, like democracy, or education, or rule and service, or any other human institution whatsoever, is at the mercy of human nature, and that to condemn the institution is almost invariably tantamount to an assertion that we are not angels all. Those of us who see that the fault lies in human nature, may suspect that it is better to treat a cause than a symptom ; that instead of throwing stones at things like marriage and sympathy and justice, because these do not always attain the most desirable ends, it would be better for these critics to see whether it is not possible to go back to some principles which may guide us in attempting to introduce, if any modifications, such modifications as will make for the development and elevation of character. Institutions are good and bad not in themselves, but according as whether or not they tend towards the expression and development of what is good or what is bad in human nature.

The biological sanctions for marriage are

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far older, not merely than registry offices or wedding rings or marriage services, but than the human race itself. The family is vindicated—that is to say, the family produced by a monogamic union of less or greater permanence—in not a few of the lower animals : and far more so in man, who passes through such a long stage of helpless infancy. In our own species we find the most striking adaptation of the physical and psychical characters of men and women to the family relation. Even did we not know that every other kind of sex relationship, save that of monogamy, had been tried and found wanting, not once but many times in the history of mankind, yet we could have inferred the desirability of this relation from the observed facts of human nature as we find it to-day. When we come across the ideal family, we recognise that this is an absolute ideal ; we are prepared to deny that anything better can be conceived. On the other hand, when circumstances, such as the loss of parents, throw children upon the State, we find that there

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is one sure criterion which we may employ in attempting to estimate the value of the various kinds of provision that may be made for them. The nearer that provision goes towards the establishment for those children of conditions simulating those of the family, the better are the results. Herd them together, and there is disaster—relative disaster at any rate : board them out, there is relative success. Indeed, what sane person will dispute that the best prospect for an orphan is afforded when it is adopted by some parental-hearted pair who will treat it as if it were one of their own children ? But those who inveigh against marriage are implicitly denying this proposition.

Last week I spoke of my friend Mr Jonathan Hutchinson's project which he calls the nationalisation of the child. Mr George Meredith would provide a very rapid and efficient mechanism towards this end. He would introduce leasehold marriage, by which a man and a woman would lease one another for five, ten, or fifteen years, as one

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leases a house—and the State would care for the children. Perhaps Mr Meredith is the one living man whose command of language is adequate fitly to stigmatise a proposal so immeasurably imbecile. Various degraded savage tribes have adopted leasehold marriage. They are gathered to their fathers—fathers whom they could not identify—and the place thereof knoweth them no more.

Your decision to maintain or destroy the family will be determined by your motive. Suppose, for instance, that you want to be a great aggressive power, a glorified burglar, and that you want plenty of soldiers. Your object is not to produce the charity that suffereth long and is kind, not to produce types that bear and forbear, as children in a family must, but to turn out an abundance of animated machines fit to march and to shoot similar machines provided by the enemy. Plainly, you must have a big factory for your machines, and the family is not a big factory. Plainly, it is ridiculous

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to limit the soldier-producing, soldier-manufacturing potentialities of one man by the measure of the similar potentialities of one woman. Having obtained satisfactory types of men, why not let them roam abroad and make the most of them, as Mr Bernard Shaw—not to mention Plato—suggests? By giving your workmen free scope you will thus turn out a much larger number of the animated machines you desire — *and the family must go by the board.*

Or you may have another motive.

You may shut your eyes to that possibility of progress which the doctrine of evolution has demonstrated once and for ever; you may make up your mind that all you desire is the absolute conservation of the type of society to which you have already attained. You want complete social efficiency and internal order. Why not adopt a type of society like that of the bee—duly modified in accordance with the physiological differences between the bee and man? Here, also, the family must go

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by the board. You must divide up your society as the bees do, and as the Japanese, I am told, are now proposing to do, into the breeders and the workers. So far as efficiency goes, you will succeed. You will be as invulnerable as the bees are, and as their collectivist methods have enabled the Japanese to be. But you will have left the path which man has trodden since he emerged from the animal stage—the only pathway to the stars.

Necessarily, you will have no room for individuality, neither for genius nor for saintliness, nor for exceptional viciousness, nor incapacity. You will root them out, treating all alike. Society will be as interesting and as efficient *and as essentially dead* as the engine of a motor car.

But nowadays these are not the motives of any school of thinkers in the Western world. Militarism we may practise, but no one of any moment dares to preach it. And similarly we want more than the conservation of the *status quo*. No one cognisant of

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modern thought, knowing what the history of man has been, can now deny Carlyle's right to speak of "that divine word, reform." We cannot be content with mere efficiency—which is no end in itself. We have a common aim, which is neither militarism nor bee-like mechanical efficiency, each of which is opposed to the family-life.

Collectivist or individualist, or whatever we call ourselves, we have this common aim. We may have formulated it under various names, or we may not have formulated it at all; but we are all agreed in seeking the greatest happiness and well-being—*and individual worth*, we individualists must add. It is the individualist contention that the ills, social, political, internecine, personal—that well-nigh all the ills—at any rate, all the unqualified ills, the moral ills—to which we are heir are dependent upon human nature. It is the contention of other schools of thought—or it would, I suppose, be their contention if they formulated their principles—that, to speak colloquially, human

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nature is all right, but the conditions are wrong—in other words, legislation is wanted. They deny the proposition of Spencer that by no political alchemy is it possible to get golden conduct out of leaden instincts. Our criterion, on the contrary, of any legislation, any proposal, any practice, is its effect upon character; and we maintain character-making to be the supreme aim of the legislator. Ignoring things of less moment, then, let us confine our thoughts to the moral nature of the individual—that is to say, to what we usually mean by his character. But directly we impinge upon the sphere of ethics, we are plainly within sight, to say the least of it, of the sphere of religion; and here are confusion and controversy. Let me assure you that I have not forgotten my subject. Let us take a definite problem and define its conditions—the problem of religious education. The conditions under which we shall examine it are to be these: We shall assume the supreme object of the education to be, not the raising up of adherents to any

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particular church, because there are several churches, and we should have to ascertain which is right—a problem plainly not for an hour, not for time, but for eternity. But we shall assume that the object of religious education is *to make character*. In other words, we shall assume, indeed, that it is to be judged by its fruits, and that all other fruits are to be regarded as spurious and worthless, save only moral conduct. Assuming, then, that religious education is a means towards the end called righteousness, let us approach this great question.

Already our assumptions have cleared our path in part. For we have already formed certain very decided opinions concerning the conditions under which character is made. We incline to the view that the best way to make character is to subject the individual to such conditions as will favour the exercise of his finer qualities, whilst discouraging the rest. And we who use such thinking apparatus as Heaven has given us, are already convinced that it is *in the home* ; in its daily

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routine, its incessant, if usually not too severe, trial of self-control ; in its recognition of the elemental relations between human beings established by Nature—*that character is most fitly to be developed*. We may, therefore, have a secret conviction that it is surely the home which must provide the fittest *locale* for the religious education which proposes to make character. It scarcely seems wise to divorce the home influence and the dogmatic influence. Of the immeasurable prepotency of the former, the home influence, I for one have no doubt. And so far as the development of a child's character is concerned, I would rather that it lived in an ordered and loving home, though its views on transubstantiation were dubious, than that the dogmatic views it held were of the soundest, whilst its father and mother were making arrangements for being divorced from one another.

We are all becoming tolerant nowadays—or else fundamentally sceptical : I am not sure which ; and there is general assent to

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the proposition that a child should be taught the religion of its parents—though when, let us say, the Anglican asserts this of the child of the Jew, he is asserting that that child should be taught what he himself believes to be false. Hence I say that his toleration seems to me to be dependent upon a fundamental scepticism, or else to be a compromise of principle ; but for the sake of argument let us agree that for the promotion of peace on earth, and in accordance with the principles of individualism, every parent is entitled to teach to his own children what he believes to be true. Everyone will assent to that proposition ; everyone will further assent to the proposition that, if the parent, regarding himself as incompetent, chooses to call in an expert, he is entitled to do so. The expert is presumably a priest, or clergyman, or minister, and, in accordance with the sound Pauline principle that the labourer is worthy of his hire, the parent pays him. That is, I suppose, the ideal state of things.

But nowadays we are told that the

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State, having provided free education for every child, is also bound to provide such religious education as the parent may desire. It is, indeed, a nonsensical proposition, involving, however considered, the most obvious injustice. But it involves much more than merely financial injustice; not merely does it inevitably imply that I, who have no children educated by the State, am compelled either to go to prison, as I should do, or else, as I do, pay for the teaching of dogmas some of which I hold to be not only false, but abominable; it implies a divorce between the dogmatic and the moral elements of religion—a divorce which will entail the utmost injury to dogma, a matter I care little about, and also the utmost injury to morals, a matter I care everything about. We hear much nonsense talked about the objections to separating the religious from the secular education of the child; but the secular and religious education are on entirely different planes, dealing with matters between which there is a

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fundamental and absolute distinction. The one is concerned with conduct ; the other is not. If we are to believe what we are told, the child's religious beliefs are of the utmost importance in determining its conduct in time and the kind of its eternity. Geographical knowledge is plainly not of this order ; for conduct it has no significance whatever. But the supremely important education which is furnished by the discipline of the home is supremely important precisely because it is concerned with those very things with which religious education is concerned ; and the really grave divorce is that between the two character-making factors in education, viz. religious education and the home influence. These should act together and should be complementary and carefully co-ordinated.

No one will question that the parent is the primary natural educator of his child ; but I have already stated as clearly as possible in my last lecture the completeness with which not only experience but also evolu-

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tionary theory demonstrates the rightness of the plan which all peoples have followed—the necessary plan of entrusting to experts all but the earlier stages of intellectual education. Yet, if it be true that the parent is the natural educator of the child's mind, it is a thousandfold more necessarily and more evidently true that he is the natural educator of the child's morals. He is, indeed, the most important factor in the child's moral environment, and this he is whether he recognises it or not. Ideally, then, beyond a doubt, if the connection between dogma and morals is to be as complete as possible, it is the parent who should impart the dogma, which will thus come with unique force and significance. If that is not possible, whether because the dogmas are somewhat difficult of exposition by any but the theological intellect, or for any other reason, it must at least be necessary, one would think, that the authority of the parent should be explicitly and openly deputed to some professional teacher of

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dogma, and that the relation of his father to the whole affair should be made clear to the child.

Let us take the other extreme, and see what is likely to happen.

The case must be common enough. There is dogmatic teaching at school, but there is never heard any allusion, save in the course of an occasional oath, to any of these dogmas at home. They mean nothing in the home either to the child or to its parents. Of what account are they likely to be to the child in such a case? What does experience show? Is it found that the religious education of the child has been successful? On the contrary, it is found, as everyone knows, that when the home influence and the influence of the religious education at school are pitted against one another, the religious education is as dust in the balance. What sort of fools are they who could possibly expect anything else? It is not dogma but conduct that determines conduct. We hear many

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complaints regarding the levity and disobedience and moral deterioration of the rising generation. Yet these are not the results which our religious education should produce. Though these complaints have been made in all ages, and doubtless largely depend upon permanent psychological differences between the adult and the child mind, yet sober people, who are able to allow for these differences, are to be found in abundance, declaring that the members of the rising generation of to-day do compare unfavourably with their predecessors. There is every reason why they should. Whilst we squabble and lie and thief, or try to, over this question of religious education, the cause of true education, the cause of character-making, languishes. Imagine the situation of the little boy of Mr A and the little boy of Mr B. Mr A should devote his energies to forming his boy's character, and Mr B should do likewise. On the contrary, A is trying to compel B to pay for the teaching to A's child of dogmas which

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A believes and B denies. B is doing likewise. Whilst the fathers are expending, in fighting each other, the energies which they should devote to their children, the children in whose interests they imagine or assert themselves to be fighting are losing what none but they can supply. In State-controlled religious education we have a cause—a modern cause—of the disintegration of the family. Now let us turn to the boarding-school, another device of our own time.

Every kind of collective device must necessarily tend to weaken the efficiency of the individual—because it lessens his completeness. This applies, I say, to every collective device in its measure. There may be compensations in certain cases; there may be compensations in the case of that collectivist device which we know as the boarding-school, the chief function of which—and a very necessary and important one it is—is to provide some sort of a substitute for the discipline which most parents are quite incompetent to provide. So far as the

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intellectual education is concerned, the average boarding-school is neither here nor there. Any Scottish day-school, its pupils paying four pounds a term, would laugh at its methods and results. The really important function of the boarding-school is to act *in loco parentis*. I am very far from saying that the routine, the lack of sympathy, the thoroughly artificial and vicious conditions established by the herding together of adolescent boys or girls—I am far from saying that these are ideal or desirable ; but at any rate they are far better, or the sum total of the conditions is far better, than those which obtain in the typical modern home, where, as far as one can judge, the father is a father because he knew no better, and the mother is a mother in spite of herself, whilst neither of them has any but the most materialistic claims to those distinguished names. There may often be very real affection in such a family, not different in kind from that which one may feel for a dog or a kitten ; but whether the sense of parental responsibility

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is being sapped by collectivism, or whether, because of that curious turning away from the end to the means which distinguishes our race, the whole sense of parental responsibility is squandered upon the desire to make money, at any rate such affection counts for very little more, so far as the moral development of the children is concerned, than one's affection for a kitten tends towards *its* moral development. The child and the kitten both respond to the affection of their senior, but they are none the less selfish. The mere radiation of affection upon a child or a kitten does not make it unselfish. There must be discipline, and there cannot be due discipline unless our whole concept of the family undergoes renovation, unless the moral education of the child be regarded as the supreme function of its parents.

When we speak of a thing done *in loco parentis*, we surely mean that, ideally speaking, it is the parent's business, but that someone else is taking his place. As the centuries go on, not only is it found that, by reason

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of human limitations, certain functions, such, for instance, as looking after the child in disease, or teaching it mathematics, must be undertaken by others *in loco parentis*, but also money—the medium of exchange—is invented ; the making of it comes to have an attraction of its own—so easily diverted are we human beings from our avowed ends—and finally everything except the mere reproductive act is performed by someone else *in loco parentis* and in consideration of money received : hence, in some measure, the modern disintegration of the family.

The proposition which I suppose I was expected formally to defend to-day is that the security of the State depends upon the security of the family, and I may be blamed for talking at length about religious education ; but here is an argument of more obvious relevance. At the very beginning of the lecture I declared that other types of marriage than monogamy have played parts of no dignity or moment in the history of mankind and the progress of society. This

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is a fact which I must emphasise. It is now believed not only that there was never a state of promiscuity in sexual relations, but, on the contrary, that some kind of marriage was instituted even amongst the more immediate anthropoid ancestors of man ; and it is seen that polyandry and even polygamy have been of very small historical importance, and have been only very scantily practised. Even in definitely polygamous societies it is the rule that polygamy is practised by only very few. The more complete our knowledge of sex relationships in man and the stages immediately preceding man, the more important becomes monogamy ; the more important quantitatively and the more important historically—that is to say, the more important as a factor in human development. Societies or States—it does not matter which word we employ—have tried all sorts of devices. They have not known that they were trying devices ; they were not familiar with the law of the survival of the fittest, which, as

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we now know, applies alike to atoms and organisms and societies of organisms, as it does to music and poetry and religions ; but nevertheless that is how we may describe their action. Why, then, is it the historical fact that all other types of sex relations have failed ; that the fittest which has survived is the monogamic relation—the union of one husband with one wife ? I am assured that there is one sufficient reason : others may be advanced ; they are trivial. We must take a sufficiently large view, and we are not likely to believe that monogamy has survived because of any moral bias in man towards that form of relation. On the contrary, the human male, so far as he is an animal, is certainly not a monogamist. Nor has monogamy survived because of the injunctions of any church. It was before any church, has survived the fall of many, and will survive the fall of many more. Monogamy has survived for this sole reason, that it has supreme survival-value ; and why ? *Because monogamy implies the family ;*

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partly because it implies a due control of male passion, and a due limitation of female endurance ; partly because it promotes the development of the higher sentiments, and represses the lower ; *but pre-eminently because it provides for the coming race a peerless environment.* I would argue, then, that the value of the family may be demonstrated by more than one logical method ; it may be demonstrated by observation and experiment ; it may be demonstrated by a thousand probabilities ; but to my mind there is no more final demonstration of it than that only on the theory of the supreme importance of the family for the survival of any society or race of man, can we possibly explain the fact that, despite the natural tendencies of the dominating sex, monogamy has so completely eclipsed all possible competitors from the pre-human stage till ours—ours, which future beings, perhaps, will call pre-human.

As a biologist, I have no choice but to hold that the survival of any character

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or institution of man is determined by one circumstance alone—its survival-value. Thus you will never exterminate his animal passions, for instance. Wherever you succeed you fail, because the race wherewith you succeed is forthwith extinct, like the donkey that had been successfully reduced to a diet of one straw per diem, but unfortunately died. And, mind you, this does not mean value for the individual; this is value for the race. The character, so far as the individual is concerned, may be unwelcome; the institution, so far as he is concerned, may be oppressive, as many a man finds marriage; but, to adapt the words of Orlando, there was no thought of pleasing him when that institution was evolved. And so, feeling these restrictions irksome, men have sought out many inventions. But the men and the States which sanctioned them: where are they? Our modern *soi-disant* sociologists are devising all sorts of inventions. Most of them are as old as the hills, but our friends think them new. They have all

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been tried and have failed, but our friends think they will succeed. Communal or collective marriage, group marriage, leasehold marriage, and "pooling" the children: they have failed one and all. If the contemporary critics of marriage—literary men—suspected that the question required studying before it was pronounced upon, they might know what every elementary student of the history of human institutions is familiar with. And these things have failed, not because they are inherently wrong, not because of the churches—which they preceded, nor because of Mrs Grundy—who, in those so-called good old days, would have been killed and eaten. They failed as other failures fail, because they did not work. They had no survival-value, and the societies which adopted them are no more. They had no survival-value because they prevented the formation of the family, upon which alone must be founded any society that is to endure—any human society, that is to say. This is not so with the social insects; but

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they do not pass through that long stage of helpless dependence in youth which is the paradoxical characteristic of the dominant animal, and which renders the family and the due exercise of parentage of supreme importance to him.

Hence we have another final criterion of any legislation or institution. Does it or does it not make for the stability and dignity of the family? These are endangered, as we have seen, by every form of militarism. They are necessarily endangered by every form of collectivism, which always must imply some subtraction from the completeness of the individual, and thus from the completeness of the parents in their chief rôle, which is to constitute and provide the environment of their children.

Would there were time to show how complete is the biological vindication of my assertion that the true, fit, and only proper place for the moral education of the young is within the limits of the family. I would seek to show that it is precisely the strength

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which morality, meaning union, implies, that has made of man the paragon of animals. As John Fiske, the most distinguished of the American Spencerians, showed, the uniquely prolonged period of youthful helplessness in man, whilst apparently a source of racial weakness, has been a great source of strength in assuring the marked evolution of morality, which is supreme in its survival-value. No legislation can abbreviate this long period of dependence. It is a fact which no collectivist methods, no device for the disintegration of the family, can expect to conquer. It will have the last word ; which is to assure us that not only is society founded upon the family, but that man's continued domination of the earth is so founded.

You will forgive me, if you can, for indulging in what people whose interests are mainly in personalities like to dismiss as generalities. To me they seem to be principles ; they seem to me to be the first principles of politics — though I confess I

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have not stolen them from current election addresses—and you will at least permit me to express this conviction, that if they have failed to impress you as they do me, the fault is not in them, but is that which Sir Thomas Browne expresses in the gorgeous language which I will give myself the pleasure of quoting: “Every man is not a proper Champion for Truth, nor fit to take up the Gauntlet in the cause of Verity; many, from the ignorance of these Maximes, and an inconsiderate Zeal unto Truth, have too rashly charged the Troops of Error, and remain as Trophies unto the enemies of Truth.”

IV

THE INDIVIDUAL AND THE STATE

IN the preceding lectures of this series, whilst discussing the child, the parent, and the family as they are seen by the biologist, we have necessarily considered certain aspects of our present subject, which is the more general and philosophic question of the relations which should subsist between the individual, regarded simply as an individual, and the State. In the first lecture I laid down the proposition which I regard as the fundamental basis for the individualist doctrine, that (1) the due recognition of individuality, or, to use biological language, the due production of variations, and (2) the natural selection of the fittest of such varia-

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tions—that these are the necessary conditions of all valid progress. To that important proposition there is no time to return. I pause merely in the attempt to emphasise it : and I must pass immediately to what I regard as the crux of our present question—a crux which a familiar phrase will enable us readily to define. This phrase is “the social organism,” introduced by Herbert Spencer, who employed it in his first book, *Social Statics*, published in 1850. Slowly but certainly biology is coming to be regarded as the key to the mental and political sciences : and so a phrase like this—the “social organism,” offering a ready contrast to the “individual organism”—has become a permanent part of our modern terminology. It is, of course, unnecessary to say that thinkers in all ages have seen one or another aspect of the analogy between the individual and the social body. Of these, Plato, deriving very likely from Socrates, was perhaps the first, and we all remember the *Leviathan* of Hobbes. Now, this conception furnishes, if

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it be not too closely criticised, the very best possible argument for collectivism. Just as a society of electrons constitutes the atom, a society of atoms the molecule, a society of molecules the living cell, and a society of cells the individual organism, so a society of individuals constitutes the social organism. And just as in the simplest cell we find a differentiation of parts, each of which has its own function subservient to the purposes of the whole, so in the multi-cellular organism we find a similar differentiation, which Henri Milne-Edwards, the French physiologist, called the "physiological division of labour." It is, beyond a doubt, in virtue of the physiological division of labour, in virtue of its collectivism, in virtue of its absolute repudiation of individualism, that the higher animal or vegetable organism is what it is. The interests of the individual cell are nought. In the course of the performance of the bodily functions, individual cells are destroyed in millions. The largest gland in the vertebrate body, the liver, and

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indeed the whole hepatic area, have as probably their most important function the destruction and disposal of millions of red blood-cells which have outlived their usefulness. For the purposes of the whole, the overwhelming majority of the cellular constituents of the body may be regarded as, from one point of view, degenerate, in that they are incomplete and inversatile. What could be more humble and insignificant, judged by the completeness of their life, than the cells which convert themselves into the horny layer of the skin, the nails, the teeth, the lens of the eye, and the collective tissues in general? The last thing considered is individuality ; and what is the consequence ? It is the most amazing efficiency on the part of the whole. Furthermore, when individuality, owing to obscure causes, asserts itself within the organism, there is disaster. The typical expression of such individuality, of individual assertion against the collective régime, is a cancer, which leads to its own destruction and to the death of the organism

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offend thee, cut them off and cast them from thee ; . . . and if thine eye offend thee, pluck it out and cast it from thee"—the only end to be named being the welfare of the consciousness of which hand and foot and eye are the servants. The first fact about the individual organism is that its parts exist not for themselves but for the well-being of their owner. Now let us turn to our analogy, and the social organism. At once we note the cardinal difference. In the case of the individual, it is the welfare of the aggregate of his parts that is the sole end ; the welfare of the units is nought. How different is the case of the State, the welfare of which is a meaningless, a self-condemned, and an ephemeral thing, if it be anything other than the welfare of its individual citizens ! "In a society," says Spencer, "the living units do not and cannot lose individual consciousness, since the community as a whole has no corporate consciousness." "This is an everlasting reason why the welfare of citizens cannot rightly be

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sacrificed to some supposed benefit of the State; but why, on the other hand, the State is to be maintained solely for the benefit of the citizens. The corporate life must here be subservient to the lives of the parts, instead of the lives of ~~the~~ parts being subservient to the corporate life." I am acquainted with no other definition, clearly expressing the due relation between the individual and the State, that is so admirable and complete as that of Professor Höffding, the great thinker of Copenhagen. In support of his doctrine that ethics is a science of the individual, and that Hegel, Wundt, and Lester Ward are in error in regarding ethics and sociology as one and the same inquiry, Höffding says:—"If the single individual in developing itself in its own peculiar way gives the best possible contribution to the whole life of society, and if, on the other hand, society is organised in such a manner that a free and full development is possible for all individuals, then we are approaching to the ethical

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ideal." Only in the consciousness of individuals can the value of life be experienced. The welfare of the State, if it be anything else than a collection of individual welfares, must be nothing more than the welfare of the ant-hill or the bee-hive. Collectivism, ruthlessly and logically practised, would reduce human society to the level of the social insects, where the individual is nought, and where, therefore, the whole existence of the society is nought—save as a rival of other societies. What does it matter if an ant-hill be overthrown? Such a society is only the simulacrum of life. Happiness and unhappiness, morality and immorality, these are personal matters, and therefore one must clearly recognise that ethics or morality is not a mere aspect of sociology. . Indeed, it is a most remarkable fact that modern ethics, emphasising the individual character of its subject, and the unique nature of its end, which is the worthy development of every individual, is definitely on the side of individualism ; though here and there is still

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to be met the astonishing confusion of individualism with anarchy and with pure egoism—the denial of morality.

This leads us on to consider the most important aspect of individualism, which, being the most important, must be chosen for treatment in my limited time—and that is its moral aspect. If there be any individualist who denies the duty of altruism, I do not know his name and I am not of his school ; but to his attention I recommend the political writings of Herbert Spencer, which show him to be an uncompromising individualist, and his epoch-making *Data of Ethics*, which placed on a new plane the science of which Socrates was the founder, and which has grounded in cosmic fact that law of love of which others have sought the sanction in convention, tradition, authority, convenience, and such-like trivialities. Now, what does individualism, its eye never diverted from the end of character-making, teach us regarding altruism ? It is this, that between collective and individual altruism there is

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fixed a great and impassable gulf. It is the supreme beauty of love, mercy, charity, or whatever you please to call it, that, as Portia said, "it is twice blest : it blesseth him that gives and him that takes." Now, it is precisely with this proposition that individualism is concerned. Those whose end is anything less than the making of character, see the helpless, hungry man and the giver ; they see the bread passing, and being consumed. The net result of the process, for them, is the satisfaction of hunger. But that is the least that the individualist sees. He sees the excitation of sympathy in the presence of hunger : he sees the consciousness of some measure of self-denial, and the development of a retrospective pleasure, in the mind of the giver ; he sees the development of the sympathetic imagination and the habit of self-denial. He recognises that mercy blesses him that gives. In the case of the hungry man he sees much more than the mere relief of an unpleasant organic sensation. He sees that in him there must be some measure of alteration in his

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outlook upon life—an alteration not due merely to his having relieved his hunger ; an alteration which would not have been effected by his finding the bread in the street, still less by his stealing it ; an alteration due to his discovery that there is someone who cares for him. Hence, for instance, I always think it a vast pity to give alms to a blind man without, on his returning thanks, cheerily saying, “You are welcome.” Let him understand that your alms are not an investment at compound interest, but that, despite the teaching of those who assert a lively expectation of heaven and hell to be necessary for the practice of morality, your act is a product of pure sympathy. You are not paying a price for anything, and you would not grudge him any price. In short, you give alms because it makes you happier to do so. Then tell him so by saying, “You are welcome.” No matter whether a penny or a sovereign passed, the total significance of the act is vastly greater than any materialistic method can estimate. Even if nothing passed

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but a word of sympathy, both giver and hearer are blest.¹ But mark the contrast when we turn from individual to collective altruism. Take the illustration of a State-supported hospital. The sum total of the good accomplished by it is to be measured in terms of physiology, clinical thermometers, and death-rates. The whole good done is materialistic good; whereas in our first case the materialistic good was of value mainly as an occasion for spiritual good done to giver and receiver. But in the case of collective altruism, there is actually spiritual ill done both to giver and receiver, against which the material good accomplished is much less than nugatory. The giver is injured, since there is nothing to develop his sympathetic imagination, since he never sees the suffering which he helps to relieve, and since the tax for the relief of others is mixed up with, and is an indistinguishable part of, a tax for mere material

¹ Here one is bound to note that, whilst charity without inquiry is little better than a subtle variety of selfishness, the true charity of sympathy—with no materialistic aspect—can afford to dispense with this preliminary.

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benefits like good roads and street-lighting. He is also injured because the tax levied on him for altruistic reasons, being compulsory, must also inevitably become burdensome, making the very name of charity an offence to him. The recipient also is injured; he comes to claim as a right that which he should regard as the free and cheerful gift—it is a wise saying, “The Lord loveth a cheerful giver”—of another person constrained only by sympathy. There is thus no moral good worked in the recipient, but rather a grave moral ill.¹ Extreme cases are illustrated in the machinery of altruism which is partly individual and partly collective. Hospital abuse is a growing evil in this country. Hundreds of thousands of people who avail themselves of our hospitals every year, though able to pay, are inflicting a wrong upon the general practitioner, upon the consultant, upon the charitable, upon

¹ The reader will scarcely regard me as suggesting that real altruism is *never* found within the walls of a workhouse or workhouse infirmary. That would be an infamous libel upon many a kind heart, I know.

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their deserving neighbours, and upon themselves—and therefore upon anyone whom they may encounter or are connected with. What a contrast between these results and those of the individual altruism illustrated by the doctor who goes to see a poor patient for nothing, thereby benefiting the patient physically, perhaps, and benefiting the patient and himself morally, of necessity! Just as the latest thought in ethics is re-asserting the individual character of morality against those collectivist thinkers who regard morality as merely a kind of social cement, so the wisest moralists are insisting that it is only the individual altruism that is really worthy of the name; and we justify ourselves in this assertion by maintaining that it is only the individual altruism that achieves the end for which altruism exists. Collective altruism, taxes exacted from the worthy, invariably in the last resort result in making worse the unworthy, without having accomplished anything for those from whom they were exacted. In brief, the accomplishment

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of collective altruism—a spurious thing to which the name of altruism should properly be denied, love not being a kind of atmosphere or cement, but a personal and individual emotion—the sum of the accomplishment of collective altruism, I say, may thus be described: the raising of a sense of injury at extortion and annoyance at the existence of need on the part of the giver, together with the most unfortunate association of ideas between poverty and misery and his taxing papers. In short, whilst emptying his pocket you harden his heart. Secondly, there is the establishment of a mechanism (certain to work imperfectly, human nature being imperfect) by which the figures on the giver's cheque are translated into food for the hungry and clothes for the naked, an almost invariably outrageous proportion of the total tax being consumed in the maintenance of this mechanism. Thirdly, there is the injurious effect of collective altruism upon its recipient, who at last is found emblazoning upon his banners, what I think to

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be the most horrible imprecation that I have ever heard or can conceive—"Curse your charity!" If anyone capable of a moment's reflection will just consider the horror of pronouncing a curse upon love, I think he will agree with me. Let us contrast the false and vicious forms of collective altruism, mistaking the husk for the kernel of morality, grasping at the shadow and losing the substance, with the verse of Isaiah: "Is not this the fast that I have chosen; is it not to deal thy bread to the hungry, and that thou bring the poor that are cast out to thy house?" Just consider: not that thou write a cheque and send the poor to the work-house, but that thou bring him to *thine own house*! Or, again, let us contrast our present vicious and futile methods with the most consummate statement of all: "I was an hungred, and ye gave me meat: I was thirsty, and ye gave me drink: I was a stranger, and ye took me in: naked, and ye clothed me: I was sick, and ye visited me: I was in prison, and ye came unto me."

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Not, "I was sick, and ye wrote a cheque under compulsion whereby someone else was paid to visit me." No second-hand, compulsory, collective altruism, but the real thing—the needy and the sympathiser meeting one another face to face, and their mere contiguity being of far more value than the passage of any material thing from hand to hand, just as the mere visit to a sick-room is of far more value than the grapes you leave behind you—grapes, the real value of which is symbolic. But no ; the collectivist would tax us, would make us good by Act of Parliament, as if there was ever love yet that yielded to compulsion—compulsion, which is ever the destroyer of love.¹

Thus those who have accepted the principles of individualism are in possession of a criterion of charitable methods and agencies—a criterion to ignore which is to court disaster. In any given case the individualist

¹ No better concrete illustration of the distinction between true and false altruism can be found than in the contrast between Nazareth House, Hammersmith, and any ordinary workhouse.

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asks, How far does the method or agency in question show signs of possessing any psychological value ? How far, except in regard to the merest materialism, does it bless him that gives and him that takes ? or how far does it approximate to that egregious case where the giver does not know or care what becomes of his money, nor the recipient know or care whence it comes ? Of all the pitiable parodies of the charity that suffereth long and is kind, I think this is the chiefest.

But if I have accomplished no more, I hope I have at least accomplished this, that no one who hears me will henceforth confound individualism with egoism.

And let me spare one word to those incomprehensible people who choose to believe that individualism is the equivalent of anarchy. Anarchy I take to be absence of rule ; and the function of rule I take to be the administration and preservation of justice ; and justice, that state of affairs in which the freedom of each is limited only by the like freedom of others—that state of affairs in which

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liberty and responsibility are duly balanced, the chief responsibility being the responsibility of not interfering with the liberty of others. This is a state which bears the same relation to anarchy that a Gothic minster bears to a heap of stones. The whole concept of anarchy is precisely expressed by the Ishmaelite definition of every man's hand against his fellow. Whoso says that individualism sanctions such a doctrine, has no acquaintance with that whereof he speaks : surely he is thinking of Nietzscheanism ?

In speaking of individual and collective altruism, I may have appeared to have spent much time upon a mere branch of the subject ; but the issue between individual and collective altruism is really the whole issue between individualism and collectivism ; and in determining this issue we can no longer ignore the judgment of natural selection. In alluding last week to the helplessness of the human infant and its dependence upon its parents, I vindicated altruism before this judge : altruism itself

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has survival-value. But, on the other hand, there is a misplaced altruism, almost invariably of the collective variety, which is radically opposed to the working of natural selection—that is to say, to the survival of the fittest—and which must therefore be condemned without qualification. If I insisted, as I did, upon the importance of individuality and variation as furnishing materials from which natural selection can choose the fittest, how much more earnestly ought I not to insist upon the disastrous consequences of that radical defiance of natural selection which occurs whenever we deliberately handicap superiority, so as artificially to encourage inferiority! All strength, all faculty, all fitness presented by every living thing have arisen, we now believe, by the more frequent survival and better multiplication of the better endowed. Suspension of this process of the survival of the fittest means a cessation of progress; reversal of it would bring universal decay. We have not yet come to see that “the

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mischiefs entailed by disregard of these truths, though they may be slow, are certain." Nor have we yet reached the conviction "that social policy must be conformed to them, and that to ignore them is madness." But it would be absurd to give my own words, when I can read you the following from Spencer: "How far the mentally-superior may, with a balance of benefit to society, shield the mentally-inferior from the evil results of their inferiority, is a question too involved to be here discussed at length. Doubtless it is in the order of things that parental affection, the regard of relatives, and the spontaneous sympathy of friends, and even of strangers, should mitigate the pains which incapacity has to bear, and the penalties which unfit impulses bring round. Doubtless, in many cases the reactive influence of this sympathetic care which the better take of the worse, is morally beneficial, and in a degree compensates by good in one direction for evil in another. It may be fully admitted

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that individual altruism, left to itself, will work advantageously—wherever, at least, it does not go to the extent of helping the unworthy to multiply. But an unquestionable injury is done by agencies which undertake in a wholesale way to foster good-for-nothings ; putting a stop to that natural process of elimination by which society continually purifies itself. For not only by such agencies is this preservation of the worst and destruction of the best carried further than it would else be, but there is scarcely any of that compensating advantage which individual altruism implies. A mechanically-working State-apparatus, distributing money drawn from grumbling ratepayers, produces little or no moralising effect on the capables to make up for multiplication of the incapables.”

A phrase in this quotation hints at a subject which is gravely exercising the members of my profession. It is but very rarely indeed that individual altruism helps the unworthy to multiply. On the contrary, collective altruism constantly does so, and with the

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most lamentable results. It does so because it is almost of its essence not to discriminate, and invariably of its essence never to look beyond the first step. The multiplication of certain types of the unfit—notably, from the medical point of view, the insane, the epileptic, the born criminal, and those affected by various other kinds of transmissible disease—is a very serious fact, and produces evils which our misguided collective altruism not merely ignores, but systematically multiplies. The apparent alternative is that we must cease to expend our sympathy and help upon such persons ; and this apparent opposition between the law of love and social duty led Huxley to assert that moral evolution is fundamentally opposed to cosmic evolution. There is no such opposition. Our duty to these unfortunate individuals is to care for them ; but it is our further duty to follow Nature's indication, and to avert incalculable misery hereafter by saying to them : “ We are sorry for you ; we will do our best for you ; but we deny your right

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to parentage. You may live, but you must not propagate."

I have consistently avoided the use of the word socialism. If socialism is merely an assertion of the individual, and even of the humblest individual, then I am a socialist. In criticising the concept of the social organism, I asserted the importance of the individual consciousness and the absolute nonentity of the interests of the State, save in so far as they are the interests of the individual. Now, this is essentially a democratic assertion. The individualist must for ever be opposed to oligarchy, aristocracy, autocracy—to any form of rule whatever which indicates the sacrifice of the liberty of any individuals, however humble, to the interests of other individuals, however distinguished. Everything but the true democracy means tyranny somewhere, and between individualism and tyranny there is eternal and implacable hatred, war to the knife and to the death. It is only to the socialism which is not true socialism but is collectivism,

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the socialism which protests against the tyranny when the tyrant is an individual, but approves of it when the tyrant is a majority — it is to such socialism that I object. I will call it socialism no longer. Doubtless, if I had personally felt the grip of the collective principle, I should be able eloquently to protest against it in the name of individual freedom ; but I stand here as a biologist, and my objection to collectivism, for the present, is a biological and philosophic objection rather than a sort of declaration of “the rights of man.” The one final objection to the trade-union which says that a clever workman may not work faster, nor an energetic workman longer, than his neighbour, is that such a practice is fundamentally opposed to natural selection. Now, natural selection, or the survival of the fittest, is equivalent, if it be not artificially distorted, to the survival of the happiest—fitness and happiness being correlated, as everyone knows. Thus we have a principle which compels us to criticise the earlier socialism,

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which, we need not doubt, was the direct product of sympathy, uncritical sympathy. Plainly, good intentions alone will not justify any procedure, nor will immediate benefit justify any procedure which defies the supremely beneficent law of natural selection—the selection of the fittest. That there need be no antagonism between our observance of this law and the immediate satisfaction of our sense of sympathy with present suffering, I have already insisted. If you will allow me once again to personify Nature—a process so convenient that men have done it since they began to think—I may say that Nature in this respect has no choice. Her only means of preventing the multiplication of the unfit race is to exterminate it, to make it pay the immediate penalty for its unfitness; but, whereas Nature is mechanical, we are intelligent, and we can do better than she.¹ We may see clearly—and, indeed, every year since 1859

¹ Philosophically, we and our intelligence and morality are as much parts of Nature as the tiger's claw. I use merely conventional language.

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men have seen more and more clearly—that in so far as the law of natural selection is concerned, Nature is she who must be obeyed ; but we can achieve her end, her end and ours—that is to say, the survival of the fittest and the happiest—can achieve that end completely without adopting her inevitably harsh methods. In order to enforce her wish, “Thou shalt not propagate,” she is compelled to say to the lame, the blind, the diseased, the stupid, “Thou shalt not even live.” Our intelligence enables us to effect Nature’s end without employing her means, and it is high time we employed it for this purpose. Thus, given certain necessary precautions, we may interfere with the natural law of natural selection in so far as we strive to ameliorate the lot of our unfortunate fellows ; but it is an absolutely impermissible modification of the law of natural selection to place any handicap whatever upon exceptional fitness. Not only should there be a potential field-marshal’s baton in every soldier’s knapsack ;

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not only should *la carrière* be *ouverte aux talents* ; but we should recognise that the greatest present and future happiness is served by the freest and fullest possible exploitation of every kind of ability—provided, of course, that it be not exploited in anti-social acts. In permitting the superior to benefit by their superiority, we benefit ourselves and our descendants. Worth of any kind is always worth something to others than its possessor. The history of all progress, from the *amœba* up to man, is the history of the establishment and accomplishment of novelty, variations, individuality—all difficulties notwithstanding. The history of all artistic progress has been the same. Bach spent much of his life squabbling with municipal authorities. Mozart and Schubert died ere their prime, just because society could not recognise the individual worth of their contributions to their art. But where would modern music be without Bach ? and who that now sings anything worth singing does not sing Schubert ? In all ages collec-

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tive devices, academies, royal societies, have stood for the repression of individuality. In the moral, philosophic, and religious history of the world the same has been true. Every truth starts as a heresy, and the supreme individualities, the supreme prophets, the founders of religions, the noblest of the noble dead, those to whom we owe almost everything that we rightly prize, have ever been poisoned, or crucified, or stoned, or mocked or spat upon, and invariably by collective forces. In a sense, at least, Carlyle was right when he declared that "universal history—the history of what man has accomplished in this world, is at bottom the history of the great men who have worked here." But the rule is that there arises some collective apparatus, declaring itself to possess the spirit of its founder, and the necessary foe of all such new individualities as that which gave it its own birth. Not only does every truth start as a heresy—a testimony to the worth of the individual—but it ends as a superstition : that is to say,

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though true, it is superstitiously held, and thus, though true, is worthless to those who so hold it—worse than worthless, indeed, since when the new genius appears it prevents them from appreciating him or profiting by him. But as the intelligence of man attains greater heights, and as the principles of individualism are seen to be sanctioned by biology and human history alike, we may hope that genius, individuality, worthy variation will no longer have to fight the mediocre majority, but will ever receive a patient hearing. It cannot for ever remain true that “a prophet is not without honour, save in his own country.” The history of progress, physical, moral, artistic, philosophic, is a history of the ultimate triumph of individuality. “Universal history,” as Carlyle called it, might indeed be written as a controversial treatise in favour of individualism. No crowd or committee ever produced a great work of art, or generated a new energy, or conceived a new truth—but individuals ever and always.

APPENDIX

I

Remarks by Sir William Chance, Bart.; the Hon. Percy Wyndham; Mr Mark H. Judge; Sir H. Vansittart-Neale, K.C.B.; and Mr C. F. Ryder.

SIR WILLIAM CHANCE, Bart., presided on the occasion of the lecture on the Child and the State, and in his opening remarks said :—"The British Constitutional Association has entered upon a most useful work in undertaking to make better known the principles of personal liberty and responsibility, and their application to the various phases of political and social life; and I feel it an honour to have been asked to preside at the opening lecture of the course to be delivered

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by Dr Saleeby, whose lecture to-day is on "The Child and the State." The child, of course, stands in an entirely different category from the adult. The latter, if in full possession of his faculties, can well be left to take care of himself, and he should not be interfered with, unless he acts in such a way as to be a danger to the rest of the community. No one would venture to say that any child can be allowed the same range of action. On the contrary, it is absolutely necessary for its own good, as well as for that of the commonwealth, that the child should be properly educated and trained, so that it may know how to exercise its freedom in a proper manner when it is of the age to fend for itself. Where the parents are in a position to give this education and training, the State is not called upon to interfere. But in many cases the parents are not in such a position; in other cases they abuse or misuse their parental authority; and oftentimes the child has no natural protector. But even in such cases the State should interfere as little

as possible, so as not to discourage voluntary effort for providing the necessary protection. If the child is an orphan, there may be relatives or friends of its parents willing to take charge of it and train it to be a good citizen, or voluntary charity may be able to provide for its needs; and all these courses of assistance should be invoked before the State takes up the case. Again, if a child be badly treated, there are many agencies ready to provide it with the necessary protection. It is, in fact, only in the last resource that the State should be called upon to interfere. And when it does interfere, its interference must be such as not in any way to endanger the great principle of parental responsibility. We hear a great deal to-day about providing free meals for the children of the poor. There are even some who would carry this weakening of parental responsibility still further, and who propose that the State should secure for itself complete control over the children of the poor. These persons forget that there is such a thing as the family

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tie, which it is well worth every effort to preserve—that the family is the unit of the nation, and should not be interfered with by the State.”

THE HON. PERCY WYNDHAM, who presided when the lecture on the Parent and the State was delivered, said :—
“ There is, I believe, scattered throughout the country, and pervading all classes of the community, a growing feeling that there has of late years been far too much interference with the liberty of the individual, and I trust it is not too much to hope that this Association may to some extent focus this feeling, and give it direction and force. It was a saying of Lord Beaconsfield’s that Englishmen were governed more by custom than by law, but that could not be said with truth in these days. It is a mistake to suppose that in the matter of well-intentioned but mischievous legislation the legislators of bygone years were wiser than those of our own day. On the contrary, the statute-book of former years was loaded

with foolish laws restricting the liberty of the individual, and the further we go back the more foolish and numerous they are. Why then could Lord Beaconsfield say with truth that Englishmen were governed more by custom than by law? It was because the machinery to put the foolish laws in force was wanting then. Now we have armies of police, and inspectors appointed for every conceivable purpose; the municipal and urban bodies with their by-laws and regulations; the county councils with their drastic centralisation. There was much more real local government in former days than there is now, and customs here and there modified the harshness of the law. In nothing have the county councils been more drastic than in the administration of the Education Act, and this brings me to the consideration of the subject of the lecture, 'The Parent and the State.' Either directly or indirectly from the effects of their actions, the State through the local education authorities has deprived the parents of all

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choice and control in the matter of the education of their children. The secondary schools directed by private enterprise might often not have reached a very high standard ; on the other hand, there are or were others of peculiar and remarkable efficiency. At least they offered variety of choice to parents who might have their own views as to why one school might suit their boy better than another. As Dr Saleeby said in his last lecture, individual boys vary, and their variation is a matter of great importance. Now, if the system of State control is not checked, there will soon be one uniform standard of school throughout the kingdom. I know of one town in the west of England where the five or six secondary schools in private hands are about to close. Secondary schools in private hands are threatened with the same fate throughout the kingdom. In viewing the relation of the parent and the State, I regard with apprehension the proposal to feed the children at public expense as tending to weaken the sense of duty on the parent's

part. Children get the mid-day meal in the schools of Germany, but at the parent's cost. If discrimination could be exercised, and those only fed at public expense whose parents are in a state of great poverty, the proposal would more commend itself to my judgment ; but I fear that great mischief and injury will be done not only to this but to succeeding generations, in lowering a just sense of responsibility on the part of the parents."

MR MARK H. JUDGE occupied the chair at the lecture on the Family and the State, and in his opening remarks said:—"The measure of support given to the British Constitutional Association, prior to the dissolution of the late Parliament, proved that there was a considerable section of the community then alive to the need for some organisation through which believers in personal liberty might resist encroachments on this fundamental principle of the British Constitution. If such an organisation was necessary during the life of the late

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Parliament, surely it is doubly so under the Parliament whose election is now proceeding. Among many significant features of the new House of Commons, not the least remarkable is the return of so many members who describe themselves as belonging to the Labour Party. This is practically a new party in British politics, and its true character has yet to be seen, but that out of it will come a collectivist party may be expected ; and, it being desirable that every considerable section of the community should be represented in the House of Commons, individualists have nothing to regret in the return of these Labour members, and in so far as these members are advocates of collectivist measures for encroaching on the liberty and responsibility of the individual, they are likely to make less headway by direct advocacy in the House of Commons than by bargainings behind the scenes. A Labour Party, as such, is as much a misnomer as would be a middle-class party. Workmen are no more peas in a political pod than middle-

class men are. Thirty-six years ago I was an active member of the committee which promoted the candidature of George Odger in Southwark. That committee included such individualists as John Stuart Mill and Professor Henry Fawcett. The candidature of George Odger had no tinge of collectivism about it, and the Labour Party have a great disappointment in store if they imagine that all the British workmen who become members of Parliament will follow the collectivist lead. If the advent of the Labour Party indicates a growth of collectivist opinions, it at the same time brings out into bold relief the fact that the two great political parties are still in the main true to the fundamental principle of our Constitution. The strength of the individualist cause is too seldom realised even by individualists themselves. The great bulk of the community are not politicians, and only wish to be left alone. They are a reserve force for individualism which will have to be reckoned with whenever extreme

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collectivist measures come seriously before Parliament. Let me give you in figures some facts in connection with a recent municipal election. Two candidates between them mustered 480 votes. No less than 1960 voters refrained from going to the poll, and the collectivist and non-political candidate was returned by merely 16 per cent. of the electorate. But this does not tell the full story of the little force there was behind the successful candidate. The population of the constituency exceeds 12,000, and thus we have the representative of 387 persons presuming to regulate the homes and lives of no fewer than 12,000 souls. This municipal tyranny is only tolerated because it fails to carry out its policy as a whole. Our liberty is encroached upon piecemeal, and by proceedings which are kept from the public view. It will be the work of the British Constitutional Association to bring the light of public opinion to bear upon all measures which interfere or attempt to interfere with the

liberty of the individual citizen, by whatever party, and nothing can be more helpful to a right understanding of the principle at stake than the lectures now being given by Dr Saleeby."

SIR HENRY VANSITTART-NEALE, K.C.B., presided at the fourth lecture, and said :—" I am sure there is much force in the old saying, ' If you want a thing well done, do it yourself.' Now many of our people expect the State to do almost everything for them. Many years ago, Denison, the East End worker, seems to have been impressed by this tendency. He expresses the wish (I speak from memory) ' that he could get people to understand that the State is not a mysterious stranger round the corner with unlimited means in his purse, but Brown, Jones, and Robinson themselves.' The contrary idea seems to gain ground, that because a man does a certain amount of work, the State owes him a debt, and should not only look after the education

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of his children, but find him work, and also support him in old age. This view has, I fear, been fostered by our Poor Law, which has lowered wages, discouraged thrift, and led children to neglect the duty of supporting parents in old age. Many are asking for : (1) work to be provided for all the unemployed, as a right, not as at present as a relief ; (2) dwellings to be erected by the ratepayer, and let at rents which will not give a return on the capital ; (3) old-age pensions. The demoralisation which would result from granting these things would be most serious, and I trust that this Association will prove itself a bulwark against any such schemes. In other directions we find the State interfering, as witness the restrictions on employment of labour, and those on building. Some of these restrictions may be necessary, and all are perhaps well-intentioned, but it is a question whether they do not all do more harm than good. The middle-aged workman whose hair is grey cannot obtain

employment because of the Employers' Liability Act, unless he can dye his hair. The building by-laws of the urban and district councils so increase the cost of the erection of houses that new cottages are not built, and you will remember that Mr Justice Grantham was tried as a criminal because he attempted to meet the wants of the day by building less expensive cottages than the district council would pass. I have myself experience of the objectionable side of the councils and their officers. We are no doubt better off than Russia, where the administration of the commune seems to be most unsatisfactory and tyrannical, and to be a chief cause of the dissatisfaction of the peasants ; but the tendency of the day is too much towards interference with the liberty of the citizen by councils or other corporate bodies, and the British Constitutional Association will be doing a most useful public work in carefully watching the proceedings of these bodies."

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SIR ARTHUR CLAY, Bart., on the conclusion of the fourth lecture, proposed the following resolution :—"That the members of the British Constitutional Association hereby place on record their high appreciation of the first course of lectures by Dr C. W. Saleeby on "Individualism and Collectivism," in which he has so well expounded the principle that the State is only secure in so far as it conserves the liberty and responsibility of the individual." This was seconded by Mr C. F. Ryder (Chairman of Council), supported by Sir William Chance, Bart., and carried by acclamation.

MR C. F. RYDER, in seconding the resolution, said :—"The gulf which separates the Liberal Party of the present day from its predecessors in title of sixty years ago, with their intense individualism and dislike of State interference, is so vast and impassable that it is not at first apparent why modern demagogues should cling to the

name. A moment's consideration, however, will show us that in party politics, the greater the difference in substance and principle, the more necessary is it to preserve the form, and at this General Election many thousands of votes have doubtless been cast for the Liberal party by electors who have neither the time nor the inclination to examine its programme, but whose action is almost wholly governed by the glamour of past achievements, by the memory of the days when Liberalism stood for self-reliance and independence, and a Liberal could truly say with Byron :—

‘I would all men were free—

As well from kings as mobs, from you as me.’

It was, in my opinion, unfortunate for the well-being of this country that the Liberal party, properly so-called, did not formally dissolve itself in the early seventies. It had done its great work of striking the shackles from industry and labour, of opening the channels of trade, of reducing class privileges to harmless and ornamental dimensions, of

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abolishing religious disabilities, and of giving to every man, as far as can be given without interference with the equal rights of other men, the opportunity for self-advancement. But this is ancient history. What we have to recognise is that the time has come when both political parties—Conservative as well as Liberal—will have to declare themselves. The British Constitutional Association affords a platform on which the individualists of both the great political parties may stand, and I trust that the Association will be so supported that it may become a strong barrier to attempts to curtail still further the liberty and responsibility of the individual. The lectures which Dr Saleeby has given most clearly set out the great principle the Association stands for, and, when published, cannot but have a great influence on all thoughtful men.”

II

The British Constitutional Association

THE Association was instituted November 18th, 1905—to conserve the fundamental principle of the British Constitution—personal liberty and responsibility—and limit the functions of governing bodies accordingly.

Offices.—1 Carlton Street, Regent Street, London, S.W.

Council. — *Chairman*, Mr C. F. Ryder, Leeds ; Mr Francis G. Burton, Manchester ; Sir William Chance, Bart. ; Mr T. S. Cree, Glasgow ; Mr Sam Hern, Cardiff ; Mr Gerald A. Sheppard, Hatfield ; The Hon. Ernest Pomeroy ; Dr Charles Bell Taylor, Nottingham ; Sir Richard Temple, Bart. ; Sir H. Vansittart-Neale, K.C.B. ; The Hon. Percy Wyndham.

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Committee. — *Chairman*, Mr Mark H. Judge ; Mr Henry Bailey ; Mr H. R. Beasley ; Mr J. Stark Duncan, L.D.S. ; Mr Leonard Judge ; Mr Frederick Millar ; Mr John C. Paget ; Mr F. W. Read ; Mr Robert A. Smith, M.Inst.E.E. ; Mr Henry Wilson, M.A., F.S.A. ; Mr Max Judge.

The Association is established with the object of conserving the fundamental principle of the British Constitution—personal liberty and responsibility—and limiting the functions of governing bodies accordingly. The members agree that this shall be altered only on the joint recommendation of the Committee and Council, and then only by the unanimous vote of the members and representatives of corporate members.

In addition to the original members, the Association may consist of other members and corporate members, both elected by the Committee, and of associates. Corporate members are societies, clubs, committees, or other bodies appointing representatives to attend the meetings of the Association.

Members and corporate members alike pay a minimum subscription of ten shillings per annum ; associates pay a minimum subscription of five shillings per annum. All subscriptions are due on the first day of the Association's financial year.

The working of the Association is vested in a Committee and a Council. The Committee is entrusted with the management, but before committing the Association to the support of, or opposition to, any proposal for legislation, either by way of enactment, amendment, or repeal, the Committee must have the approval of the Council or the approval of a meeting of the Association. Each member of the Association who is also a Member of Parliament or a member of a municipal governing body in the United Kingdom is *ex officio* a member of the Council.

The Committee elects annually a President of the Association, and arranges for an Annual Conference, at which the President delivers an address. The Annual Confer-

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ences are held at divers places selected by the Committee.

Minimum Annual Subscription.—Members, 10s.; Associates, 5s.

MAX JUDGE, *Honorary Secretary.*

1 Carlton Street, Regent Street, London, S.W.

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